

# The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES

*Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine*

EDITED IN CO-OPERATION WITH A

COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, MANAGING EDITOR

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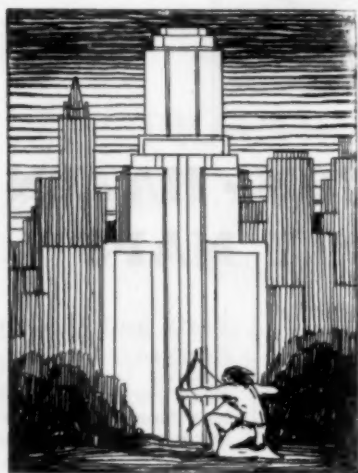
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## Forty-Second Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, December 28-30, 1927

REPORTED BY PROFESSOR ROY F. NICHOLS, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Seldom, if ever, has the city of Washington been so in the grip of history and the social sciences as during the recent holiday season. At least sixteen learned societies, interested in these fields, met in convention, and their memberships were out in force. The American Historical Association mustered a registration of over six hundred, reputed to be the largest in its history, and for three days the Willard Hotel seemed a veritable Academy of History. Not only were there large numbers, but there was also a feeling that much business was to be transacted of general interest to the Association and of considerable importance for the future. The subject which formed the most general topic of conversation in the many small groups, constantly forming and reforming in lobby and corridor or at table, was the resignation of Dr. Jameson, after more than thirty years of service as managing editor of the *American Historical Review* and his acceptance of the new chair of American History at the Library of Congress.

Few days have offered more variety and more of interest to historians than did the opening day of the meeting, Wednesday, December 28th. Besides, Washington did her best in the weather line that morning, a courtesy which she soon recalled with a vengeance. While the Executive Council was in session three morning conferences were held. Papers were presented before a joint meeting with the Agricultural History Society by Miss Ellen C. Semple and Carl R. Woodward on "Orchard and Vineyard Culture in the Ancient Mediterranean Lands" and "Relations Between Government and Agriculture in Colonial New Jersey." A second conference, presided over by Prof. Westermann, discussed three phases of "Roman Imperialism." Donald McFayden read a paper on "The Evolution of the Principate Reconsidered," Frank B. Marsh on "Tiberius and the Development of the Early Empire," and A. E. R. Boak on "Byzantine Imperialism in Egypt." These papers were followed by a lively discussion and criticism, led by the chairman. The third meeting was dedicated to Hispanic-American History, and was held in the Hall of the Americas at the Pan-American Union. The chairman of the morning was Señor Don Ricardo J. Alfaro, Minister of Panama and vice-chairman of

the Pan-American Union. He introduced Arthur S. Aiton, Vera L. Brown, and Arthur P. Whitaker, who presented papers carrying out a well-articulated program dealing with commercial conditions in the Spanish Empire in America during the eighteenth century. Mr. Aiton and Miss Brown discussed the activities of the Asiento Company and private traders in carrying on contraband trade ("Asiento Company, as reflected in the papers of Lord Shelburne" and "English Contraband Trade in the Eighteenth Century: a Factor in the Decline of Spain's American Empire"). Mr. Whitaker explained the reasons for Spain's relaxed rules of trade toward the close of that century in Louisiana and the Floridas as counsels of necessity, rather than as experiments which might, if successful, be introduced into other portions of the empire. ("Commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas at the End of the Eighteenth Century.")

Two luncheon conferences attracted a number of the members. Prof. Cheyney presided over the English History luncheon, which was addressed by Prof. Robert S. Rait, of Glasgow University, on "The Place of Scotland in the Political History of Europe Before 1603." At the conference on the Far East, led by Prof. Payson J. Treat, no formal papers were read, but a number of speakers made suggestions as to needed research in the history of that quarter of the globe.

The afternoon was devoted to an extremely interesting general meeting on "History and Science," presided over by John C. Merriam, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Frederick J. Teggart defined "The Responsibility of the Historian" as the creation of an historical science distinct from natural science. Historians ought to be able to discover the patterns which changes follow, to demonstrate by comparison between various ages and areas the rules which the flow of events obeys. To do this, historians must seek wider knowledge and develop a greater facility for the comparison of different historical epochs and of different civilizations. Frederick Barry followed with a discussion of the historian's task as seen by a scientist ("Historical Essentials in the Philosophical Study of Science"). "History," he said, "is the parent and guardian of



all science, and is itself rather than mathematics the basic science. Science is always in a state of flux, never complete, and the essential need of the scientist is not logical premises, but the 'history of the case.' Historians have too long been content with the more ephemeral phenomena, such as politics and personalities; they ought rather to delve more deeply and also to organize more as they dig, to synthesize more." He urged as the great need, "suggestive generalization." Prof. Thorndike appropriately concluded the session with "An Historical Sketch of the Relationship Between History and Science." He demonstrated that this relationship has not been close. He also pointed out that natural science has had its methods improved and facilitated greatly by new tools, such as the compass, watch, telescope, and microscope, and in conclusion raised the question, can historical method be likewise facilitated by the development of new tools and methods? Seldom has there been a more thought-provoking session at the annual meetings.

The evening's activities were opened by two dinners. That given by the Agricultural History Society was addressed by Prof. Dodd, of Chicago, upon the "Drift of Agriculture in the United States." He described the continuous cycles of prosperity and poverty experienced by the American farmer. Wars have generally produced periods of inflation, increased demand, high prices, and prosperity, which have been followed by periods of deflation and distress. The second dinner was devoted to Latin-American History, and was held as a result of a plan made at Rochester a year ago, under the chairmanship of Prof. Bonham, of Hamilton. Various reports were made, especially upon the Inter-American Historical Series, which is to be a series of English translations of one of the best histories of each of the Latin-American nations, and upon the proposed Latin-American bibliography, which it is planned to publish in ten volumes. A proposal was introduced to organize an Academy of Hispanic-American History, which, after some discussion, was withdrawn, and a committee appointed, under the chairmanship of N. A. N. Cleven, of Pittsburgh, to consider the question of permanent organization. Messrs. I. J. Cox, of Northwestern, and A. S. Aiton, of Michigan, were chosen chairman and secretary of the group for 1928.

The joint general session with the American Political Science Association was made the occasion of the presidential addresses. Senator Bingham presided and announced the award of the Herbert Baxter Adams prize to W. F. Galpin, of Syracuse University, for his monograph upon the "English Grain Trade During the Napoleonic Era." Senator Bingham then introduced Henry Osborn Taylor, president of the American Historical Association, who spoke on "A Layman's View of History."<sup>1</sup> He recounted his experience as a research scholar and writer and explained his philosophy of history, based upon the study of the broad sweep of the culture of the various

civilizations which have emerged. He was followed by Wm. B. Munro, president of the Political Science Association, who considered "Physics and Politics—An Old Analogy Revised." His theme was the outworn character and uselessness in practical government of such ideas as equality of men, rule of the majority, and checks and balances. Government is determined by the state of balance between various social groups, and the problem is how to produce a really fair balance. To this problem the scientists of government should devote themselves, unhindered by outworn dogmas.

The day was very appropriately concluded by a concert presented under the auspices of the Washington members of the American Historical Association. The program was made up of a number of delightful selections, dating from 1250 down to 1923, illustrating the historical development of music.

Thursday brought fewer historical conferences, but was by no means without interest. There were but two regular sessions scheduled, both in the morning. The medievalists held a conference, presided over by Prof. William A. Morris, of California, at which papers were read by Charles H. Taylor, of Harvard, on the "Theory of a Roman Origin of Carolingian Polyptychs"; by Prof. Larson, of Illinois, on the "Use of Witnesses in Old Norwegian Law," and by Arthur H. Noyes, of Ohio State, on "De Praerogativo Regis in Late Medieval England." A lively discussion followed the reading of these papers, especially in regard to the last one, which stimulated considerable debate.

At the same time a joint meeting of the American and Mississippi Valley Historical Associations, presided over by Dr. Schafer, of Wisconsin, was revaluating the period preceding the Civil War. James C. Malin read a paper prepared by Lester B. Shippee reconsidering the question of Public Lands and Immigration, while Robert R. Russel, of Western State Normal School of Michigan, and C. S. Boucher, of Chicago, rendered the same service to Railroads and the Slavery Problem. These papers emphasized the large amount of research still to be done in these fields. They stressed a fact which is being increasingly recognized, that there must be more study of local conditions. Usually a student seems to feel that if he is not engaged upon a national subject he is stultifying himself, consequently our knowledge of fundamental conditions suffers. Mr. Boucher presented the wide variety of results concerning social conditions and public opinion gained from an intensive study of the New Orleans *Picayune*, and suggested the desirability of similar studies in a dozen or so of the leading southern newspapers of the period. So interested and continuous was the discussion following these papers that the chairman was forced to close it before it was finished. A program of this type might well be scheduled more often, for several general papers on closely related subjects, covering a given field, stimulate discussion and an interchange of general ideas more effectively than the usual conference procedure. A third session considered the question of public archives. Dr. Jameson gave an

<sup>1</sup>This address appears in the January number of the *American Historical Review*.



encouraging report on the progress made toward erecting the new archives' building which Congress has authorized. He was followed by Messrs. Fitzpatrick, of the Library of Congress, and Godard, of the Connecticut State Library, who discussed Federal and State progress in the care of archives.

The luncheon session this noon was devoted to the objectives of history teaching in the schools. Fremont P. Wirth, of George Peabody College for Teachers, started the discussion with a paper of this subject, which was discussed by Messrs. Pahlow, of Ohio State, Gambrell, of Columbia, and Knowlton, of Yale. The sense of the speakers seemed to be that there were too many goals, that their number should be reduced and their statement simplified. Practical schemes for attaining these goals are the great need of the teachers attempting to reach them.

The annual business meeting attracted more than the usual attendance, because of the various unsettled questions that it was presumed would come up for action. Various reports were made by the secretary and committee chairmen. It was announced that Dr. Jameson's place as managing editor of the *Review* would be filled temporarily by Prof. Munro, of Princeton, who would take charge for a year commencing July 1, 1928. In the meantime a committee, composed of Messrs. Bourne, Boyd, Cheyney, Coleman, Greene, Higby, Jameson, and Nevins, would have under consideration the future.

A gift of \$50,000 from Mrs. Beveridge was announced to establish a fund in honor of the late Senator. To this sum Indiana friends plan to add a like amount. Another gift was announced from Mrs. Griswold, of Philadelphia, who has given \$25,000 in honor of her husband and her father. Under the will of the late Miss M. M. Dunning a fund of \$2000 has been given to the Association for the purpose of establishing the John H. Dunning prize, to be awarded every two years for an essay in the field of Reconstruction History in the United States, 1865-1877. The endowment fund thus totals approximately \$300,000, and the membership numbers 3469, a net gain of 270 during 1927.

In view of the recent attacks upon textbooks and their authors, the Association passed the following resolutions:

"That genuine and intelligent patriotism no less than the requirements of honesty and sound scholarship demand that textbook writers and teachers should strive to present a truthful picture of past and present, with due regard to the different purposes and possibilities of elementary, secondary, and advanced instruction; that criticism of history textbooks should therefore be based not upon grounds of patriotism, but only upon grounds of faithfulness to fact as determined by specialists or tested by a consideration of the evidence; that the cultivation in pupils of a scientific temper in history and the related social sciences of a spirit of inquiry and a willingness to face unpleasant facts are far more important objectives than the teaching of special interpretations of particular events; and that attempts, however well meant, to foster national arrogance and boastfulness and indiscriminate worship of national 'heroes' can only tend to promote a harmful pseudo-patriotism and that, in the opinion of this Association, the clearly implied charges that many of our leading scholars are engaged in treasonable propaganda, and that tens of

thousands of American school teachers and officials are so stupid or disloyal as to place treasonable textbooks in the hands of children is inherently and obviously absurd, and that the successful continuance of such an agitation must inevitably bring about a serious deterioration both of textbooks and of the teaching of history in our schools, since self-respecting scholars will not stoop to the methods advocated."

Tributes to Simeon E. Baldwin and Albert J. Beveridge were presented. Officers for the following year were elected and the new committees announced. Indianapolis was designated as the place for the 1928 meeting, at which time meetings extending over Sunday will be held.

Thursday evening was the gala night of the meetings. Upon this occasion occurred the annual dinner, in which the historians were joined by many other social scientists. Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, acted as toastmaster, and very happily introduced the speakers of the evening. The Canadian Minister, Hon. Vincent Massey, spoke upon the changing viewpoints of history and urged that historians take a scientifically charted middle course between "high-brow" and sensational history. "Reconstruction of the past," he said, "calls for insight into the human mind. It calls for the temperament of the artist coupled with the well-balanced mind of the historian." He was followed by Governor Ritchie of Maryland, who devoted himself almost entirely to condemning sumptuary legislation, especially that which restricted immigration. Dr. Keppel, Director of the Carnegie Corporation, spoke very interestingly upon the difficulties experienced by those who have money to give away and urged the need of larger funds. The last speech of the evening was from Secretary Hoover, who spoke of his historical collection at Stanford and welcomed the members of the various associations to the seat of government.

The final day of the meetings found the lobbies not quite so crowded. The morning meetings were three in number. At a joint meeting of the conference of the Historical Societies with the Bibliographical Society of America, William Warner Bishop, of Michigan, and Solon J. Buck, of Minnesota, discussed propositions for the "Photostatic Reproduction of Rare Early American Newspapers" and "A Bibliography of Travel in America." Dr. B. F. Shambaugh, of Iowa, presided over a session devoted to "Governmental Support of Historical Endeavor." Here W. G. Leland discussed the various developments which have taken place within recent years, indicating the growing "International Support of Historical Activity." John C. Fitzpatrick, of the Library of Congress, discussed the haphazard work which the United States government has done from time to time to further historical work by purchase and publication. Dr. Jameson outlined the program which has already been presented to Congress for future governmental support. The Superintendent of Documents at the Government Printing Office was present and explained the method of distribution of the multiplicity of documents which his office produces. The third conference attracted a good deal of attention. The subject under discussion was

"Post-War Problems in the Minor Slavonic States." Professor Schmitt, of Chicago, presided at this session, and papers were read by Messrs. R. J. Kerner, of Missouri; A. I. Andrews, of Vermont; F. W. Nowak, of Boston, and S. N. Harper, of Chicago, on "The Little Entente," "Possibilities of a Balkan Pact," "Poland and the Baltic Pact," and "The Ukraine in the Soviet Union."

At luncheon two groups met, one to discuss the Dictionary of American Biography and the other the proposed Modern European History Review. Professor Dodd presided at the luncheon on the Dictionary of American Biography, and the editor, Dr. Allen Johnson, discussed the various problems which he faced in his editorial work. A number of questions from the floor showed a very lively interest. Dean Ford, of Minnesota, presided at the other luncheon, and C. P. Higby, of Wisconsin, discussed plans for the new review. He reported that definite plans for starting such a review were fast coming to completion and that developments might be expected within the current year.

A general session was held in the afternoon at the new Auditorium of the Library of Congress, where several papers upon the diplomatic history of the United States were read. The Librarian of Congress welcomed those attending to the Library of Congress and the meeting was presided over by the Hon. David Jayne Hill. Tyler Dennett, of the State Department, presented a plan for dividing up the diplomatic history of the United States into definite areas, according to the various countries with which we have had diplomatic relationship and the different periods of time. He expressed the hope that by such an arrangement and the co-operation of the various graduate schools in the country a co-operative scheme of research in the diplomatic history of the United States might be inaugurated. Lawrence F. Hill, of Ohio State, discussed the rather bizarre and not always praiseworthy career of James Watson Webb as our Minister to Brazil during the Civil War. R. C. Clark, of Oregon, read a paper on "The Mission of Sir John Rose" and its importance in paving the way for the settlement of the Alabama claims. Lawrence Martin, Chief of the Division of Maps in the Library of Congress, concluded the program with a discussion illustrated by lantern slides of Mitchell's map and its importance in the diplomatic history of the United States, especially in the peace conference of 1782 and the negotiations between Webster and Ashburton forty years later. At the conclusion of this program a number took the opportunity afforded to visit the research equipment of the Library of Congress in the new stack. The dinner given that evening was devoted to discussion of the promotion of research. Messrs. Metcalf, of Johns Hopkins; Moe, of the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; Ford, of Minnesota, and Mitchell, of Columbia, presented sketches of the activities for the promotion of research by the granting of money in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Guggenheim Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Social Science Research Council. The

general feeling at the conclusion of this conference was one of financial encouragement for those interested in research.

The final session of the Association was one of the most interesting of the meetings. Carl Becker, of Cornell, presided, and the general topic for discussion was "Revolution and Reform in the Nineteenth Century." J. P. Baxter, of Harvard, discussed the change in naval construction which took place about 1850, and showed how the development of the use of ironclads in naval warfare was inaugurated by the French, and taken up by the British and the United States within the next decade. He showed that the authorities of the United States were well committed to the policy before the battle at Hampton Roads and that that engagement had little effect upon their general use in the navies of the world. M. E. Curti, of Smith College, discussed the status of the movement for world peace about the middle of the nineteenth century and described particularly the activities of Elihu Burritt. The program was concluded with a paper by F. J. Klingberg, of the University of California, at Los Angeles, who discussed Anglo-American interests in the anti-slavery movement in the twenty years prior to the Civil War. With this meeting one of the busiest and most numerous attended of the Association's annual meetings closed its sessions.

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# United States Foreign Policy Since the World War

## Paper II.

BY PROFESSOR JAMES C. MALIN, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

### MILITARY POLICY

The opposition to militarism reached its highest point in the United States prior to the World War. Like liberalism in politics it clearly dominated the country. The World War brought about a reversal of sentiment. Since the war, militarism is stronger than ever before in the history of the republic. Such is the outcome, for the time being at least, of the "war to end war." Opposition to war is found among so-called radicals, such as socialists, or among some college groups, or in some religious groups. It arouses hostility, however, unless judiciously expressed. Such groups have been suppressed in some places by so-called patriotic organizations. When the Federal Council of Churches recommended against the R. O. T. C. in schools and colleges in June, 1926, it aroused serious criticism and protests that the recommendation was made without authority.

Coolidge's annual message of December, 1926, gave the standing army at 115,000 men and the total military force, land and sea, including reserves, at 610,000 men. According to David Starr Jordan there was an increase between 1912 and 1927 of 400 per cent. in the number of men under military training in the United States. The basis of post-war military policy is the National Defense Act of 1920. It provides for the regular army, national guard, organized reserve, reserve officers training camp in schools and colleges, and the citizens military training camps. On 18 January, 1927, Secretary Davis presented a ten-year army program to Congress, providing for the expansion of the standing army from the authorized strength of 118,500 to 165,000 men. For reasons of economy he said that he did not recommend immediate appropriation of funds for this expansion.

An attempt was made to establish a National Defense Day, on which all the forces of the country should be mobilized each year as a defense test. There were some protests, but the first Defense Day was celebrated 12 September, 1924. The next year military authorities planned to choose 11 November, Armistice Day, as the permanent annual defense day. It was reported that Coolidge objected, and 4 July was chosen instead. Since 1925 the policy has not been continued.

In naval policy the United States resumed work on capital ships which had been suspended or retarded during the war. Potentially American naval power was the greatest in the world. In the Washington Conference equality was established with the British navy for capital ships and airplane carriers, on a ratio of 5:5:3:1.75:1.75 to the navies of Japan, France and Italy. Many authorities have minimized this seeming sacrifice of strength in capital ships, and

have argued that new branches of the service—the submarine and the airplane—are the decisive elements in future sea power. Light cruisers were also limited in size to 10,000 tons with 8-inch guns. In airplane carriers and cruisers the United States was deficient, so building was continued within the limits set. In 1924 eight cruisers were authorized. Appropriations were provided for five. In 1927 an issue was made by the big navy group of appropriating money for the remaining three as well as authorizing ten additional cruisers. An appropriation of \$450,000 was finally accepted and the bill was signed by Coolidge 2 March, 1927. An appropriation was also made for the elevation of guns on battleships. A similar appropriation had been made earlier, but was not used. In the naval controversy the Republican party was badly divided. Speaker Longworth, a presidential possibility, openly opposed the administration. Another important piece of legislation passed during the same session was a bill authorizing the creation of a merchant marine naval reserve, and 5 August, 1927, orders were issued to put the act into effect. Since the death of Roosevelt, naval propagandists have seized upon his birthday, 27 October, as an opportunity for honoring his memory and linking that commemoration with an annual celebration of Navy Day. The custom was started in 1921 and has been continued since.

The status of aviation has been a matter of much doubt and of bitter controversy among military authorities. Extensive experiments were carried out to try to determine the effectiveness of air warfare against battleships. The results were inconclusive. To such men as Colonel Mitchell they were decisive in proving the superiority of aircraft. One idea he stood for was the reorganization of all air units into a new department. After investigation, Coolidge decided against any radical changes. Legislation for 1926 provided that army and navy air units were to be strengthened and an assistant secretary for air service was provided in each department. A five-year naval air-building program was adopted, authorizing an expenditure of \$85,000,000 for 1000 planes and two dirigibles larger than the ill-fated Shenandoah, wrecked in 1925. Although Coolidge opposed the appropriation for the dirigibles, it was passed, along with the cruiser appropriations of 2 March, 1927. The army air act provided for a five-year building program, calling for \$150,000,000 and the construction of 2200 planes. The War Department announced the preparation of contracts for the building of 509 planes 2 March, 1927, as a beginning of this program. The "air cabinet," a group of four officials, the Postmaster-General and the Assistant Secretaries of War,

Navy, and Commerce, are reported to be developing a broad commercial air policy, which has as a supplementary purpose military defense. One immediate objective is the creation of a corps of at least 10,000 trained commercial fliers. Such a body of trained men would form the nucleus around which to build a great flying corps, with the least possible delay, in case of war. It emphasizes again the difficulty of separating what may on the face of it appear to be purely domestic peace policies from the international armament problem.

The mobilization of industry for war purposes presents one of the most difficult of military problems. It has been customary from time immemorial for men to be called upon for military service, but the drafting of property is a different question. The criticism of opponents of war, as well as the bitter hostility aroused by war profiteering and war fortunes, have forced the issue into the foreground. Attempts were made in conferences during 1925 to work out the relations between the government and the railroads. Industries of special military importance, such as chemicals, have been favored by legislation. Coolidge, in his annual message of December, 1925, approved the principle of a selective service act for "both persons and materials," and on Armistice Day, 1926, returned to the question, but no legislation putting the principle into concrete form has been considered.

#### POLITICAL POLICY: THE PACIFIC

In the Pacific the leading American possessions are Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, the Samoan Islands, Guam, and the Philippines. With respect to these, United States economic policy has been to bind them closer to the empire by economic ties; to include them within the coasting system, the protective tariff system, and to promote the development of their resources. Politically, no very definite general policies are in evidence. In Alaska, the government railroad into the interior was completed in 1922. Agriculture, the reindeer industry, and mining have been specially fostered. The navy has opened up anthracite coal mines for the first time. Previously all naval coal was shipped from the Alleghany mines. Political reforms were undertaken in 1926 when a move was made to secure the consolidation of department activities in Alaska, which were in charge of 38 Bureaus, into the hands of a committee of three—one representing each of the chief departments interested. In the Philippines the policies of the Wilson administration were largely reversed. The new government after 1921 attempted to strengthen American control, to limit native political power, and to dispose of the economic activities of the islands government to private individuals. The Thompson report of 1927 contrasts sharply with the conditions reported in the Wood-Forbes report of 1921. One of the most important recommendations made by Thompson was the transfer of the direction of government from the War Department to a civil department, a policy which had been endorsed by Coolidge in his annual message of December, 1926. Among the products of

the Philippines, hemp and copra are the most important to the United States. As ex-secretary of commerce Redfield points out in connection with the copra supply of the United States, if the Philippines fell into unstable hands it would be serious, but if they should fall into hostile hands it would be disastrous. With the possible development of rubber and oil the economic importance of the islands would be enhanced immeasurably, and the uncertainty concerning their eventual independence would almost inevitably be decided in the negative. Coolidge has recognized this situation to a certain extent in his annual message 7 December, 1922: "No one contemplates any time in the future either under the present or a more independent form of government when we should not assume some responsibility for their defense. For their economic advantage, for the employment of their people, and as a contribution to our power of defense which could not be carried on without rubber, I believe this industry should be encouraged."

Hughes summarized economic, political, and military policy in the Pacific in an address 30 November, 1923. He said: "In relation to the Pacific Ocean and the Far East we have developed the policies of (1) the Open Door, (2) the maintenance of the integrity of China, (3) co-operation with other powers in the declaration of common principles, (4) co-operation with other powers by conference and consultation in the interests of peace, (5) limitation of naval armament, (6) the limitation of fortifications and naval bases." Except for the fifth and sixth points there was nothing new in this policy but the method of meeting the other interested powers in a general conference, the Washington Conference, and the creation of some permanent machinery of co-operation. The idea of a general conference was attempted by certain European powers as early as 1899 at least, but the United States objected. The Root-Takahira agreement of 30 November, 1908 provided for consultation upon Pacific questions. Similar agreements were made by Japan with some other powers. Thus it is seen that the Washington Conference should be viewed as the logical outcome of a quarter century of development.

The machinery set up by the conference is one of the most unusual aspects of its work from the standpoint of United States policies. Five commissions were provided. First, a board of reference for Far Eastern questions to decide whether specific doubtful acts or cases are in accordance with the Open Door. Second, an international tariff revision commission to adjust the Chinese tariff to an effective 5 per cent. level. Third, a conference on the tariff and the abolition of the *likin* charges. Fourth, a commission on extra-territoriality to study the judicial systems of China and make reports. Fifth, a commission to investigate issues raised by the presence of foreign troops in China. In participating in these commissions—the treaty providing for them was ratified by the Senate—the United States is doing in the Far East what it declined to do in Europe and in other places under the auspices of the League.

## WESTERN HEMISPHERE POLICIES

In the western hemisphere the Monroe Doctrine is the most conspicuous factor in foreign policy. Because of criticisms of indefiniteness Secretary Hughes used the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the doctrine to redefine it. The Monroe Doctrine, he said, "is opposed (1) to any non-American action encroaching upon the political independence of American States under any guise and (2) to the acquisition in any manner of the control of additional territory in this hemisphere by any non-American power." It is a policy of self-defense, not aggression, and is interpreted and enforced by the United States alone. Thus far the statement of the doctrine is negative and refers to the relations of European powers to the western hemisphere. The relations of the United States to the sister states of the western hemisphere were not defined in the original doctrine; consequently, a body of positive policies—corollaries of the Monroe Doctrine—have been formulated from time to time to meet changing needs. There are three of these positive policies or groups of positive policies: Pan-Americanism, international co-operation, and Caribbean policies. Mr. Hughes also insisted that it is not the policy of the United States to encroach upon the independence and sovereignty of American states. On this point and on some others the American states are not in agreement.

Before the World War the Monroe Doctrine was severely criticised in the United States and many argued that it should be abandoned. Since the war there has been a strong nationalistic reaction and very few now advocate any modification of the Monroe Doctrine and its corollaries unless it be an extension of their scope. Formerly there was no serious objection to European states sitting on boards of arbitration for the settlement of American questions and there are numerous instances of the kind. Since the war it is doubtful whether public opinion would permit the submission of any case to such settlement.

Pan-Americanism and international co-operation in the western hemisphere have been closely associated since the definite beginnings of Pan-Americanism in the international conference of 1889. It is not fully accepted throughout Latin-America because of the feeling in some quarters that it is a policy participated in by the United States primarily for facilitating its own economic penetration to the southward. Opposition movements which emphasize Latin-American solidarity are fostered in these southern states to oppose the influence of the United States and emphasize the cultural, institutional, religious, and historical connections between Latin-America and Latin-Europe. In the Santiago meeting of the Pan-American Union in 1923 the conflict of these points of view was much in evidence. The sincerity of the disarmament policy of the United States was attacked because of the assistance given to Brazil in reorganizing her navy. The statement that the Monroe Doctrine would be interpreted by the United States alone became the subject of severe criticism.

Steps were also taken to reorganize the Pan-American Union into an American League of Nations which would incidentally limit the influence of the United States in the union. The agenda of the conference included many subjects, but only four treaties were completed: the registration of trademarks, publicity of customs documents, provision for special conferences, and a peace treaty that all questions not settled diplomatically be submitted to an American commission for investigation, no military measures being taken in the interim.

Caribbean policy is more restricted geographically and its main principles were worked out definitely in the years between the Spanish War and the World War. They were designed to give to the United States a sort of guardianship over the area in the maintenance of American security and the protection of American interests. These principles may be grouped as follows: First, transportation was promoted across the isthmus. Second, naval bases were acquired in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, the Panama Canal was fortified, and control was established over Haiti and Santo Domingo which would prevent these strategic positions from falling into the hands of an enemy for military purposes. Third, financial administration has been established in varying degrees over Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Salvador. Fourth, sanitary supervision was maintained in Cuba, Panama, Haiti, and Santo Domingo. Fifth, orderly government was maintained through supervision of elections in Cuba, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Panama, and Haiti, and through policing in Cuba, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, and Haiti. Embargoes were placed on arms traffic to insurrectionary movements in Mexico. Recognition was refused to revolutionary movements in Nicaragua and Mexico. Sixth, revolution was promoted to facilitate the overthrow of a government disapproved by the United States through authorizing export of arms to Mexico during the Huerta régime, through recognition of the revolutionary movements in Panama, Nicaragua, and Mexico, and through prohibition of military movements by Colombia to suppress the rebellion of 1903.

Since the World War a few details have been added to these, but no essential changes have been made in general policies. Caribbean policy has, however, been used more widely than formerly and the public has become more definitely conscious that these activities do constitute a definite body of policy. Hughes called attention to Caribbean policy as such in his addresses on foreign policy in 1923, and Coolidge again restated it at an Associated Press dinner 25 April, 1927, where he discussed the Nicaraguan situation. In that connection he said, "toward the governments of the countries which we have recognized this side of the Panama Canal we feel a moral responsibility that does not attach to other nations. Revolutions will be discouraged in these countries. For that purpose the United States has taken a hand in Nicaragua. We are not making war on Nicaragua any more than a policeman on the street is making war on a passerby." Many news-



paper editorials hailed this as a new doctrine, but it was clearly not a formulation of new ideas. It was rather a restatement of existing facts and principles of recognized standing.

To South America prior to the World War the United States had not extended any body of positive policies similar to those applied to the Caribbean area. Those countries are more remote and the arguments of military defense and economic interest are not so clear. Also, the states of the southern continent are relatively more stable politically than the semi-tropical and tropical Caribbean states. Since the World War some tendencies indicate a more positive interest in that region and on lines which resemble certain aspects of Caribbean policy. A measure of financial supervision has been extended over Peru. Loans, collectable by the agents of New York bankers, have been made to Bolivia with the sanction of the department of state. The United States has been active in attempting to secure a settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute between Peru and Chile. This last item is more than a matter of Pan-American idealism. It is a matter of important economic interest to the United States to secure a peaceful settlement of disturbing factors in western South America. Chile is an important source of nitrates and copper. Bolivia produces tin and tungsten. Peru produces copper and possesses a practical monopoly on vanadium, which is exploited by an American company. It is not overstating the matter to point out that such political interest in any geographical area is in direct proportion to the economic and military importance of such areas to the United States.

In relations with Europe the United States has held that it will have no part in purely European political questions—those which do not affect American interests. A distinction has been drawn, notably by Mr. Hughes in 1922, between political questions on the one hand, and economic questions on the other. In the latter field the United States has been vitally interested. In practice it is a matter of serious question whether this distinction is altogether valid, but it is a convenient means of conciliating the extreme isolationists in American politics.

#### INTERNATIONAL POLICIES

After the defeat of the League of Nations in the United States Senate the government was under the necessity of formulating a working policy in dealing with international problems. Harding had made many unwise and contradictory pledges during the campaign and they undoubtedly embarrassed the administration in the conduct of foreign relations. It is impossible to explain the reasons for the early phases of policy toward the League, or to place exactly the responsibility. Did it represent the personal convictions of Harding, or Hughes, or did it represent the dictation of certain party leaders? The situation must be accepted for the time being without explanation.

The Knox resolution, declaring the end of the war, reserved to the United States all the rights and bene-

fits of the treaty of peace with Germany, but forbade the President to appoint representatives on League commissions or organizations acting under its auspices without the consent of the Senate. It is said that during the first weeks of the Harding administration League communications were not even answered, the government refusing to recognize its existence. This attitude was impossible to maintain and a subterfuge was resorted to by which the United States was represented in the League activities by unofficial observers, or in some cases by private individuals, who were appointed to important positions with the approval of the American government. In regard to the unofficial observers, Hughes stated the simple facts when he said: "They are unofficial simply in the sense that they are not and cannot properly become members of the League organization or committees. But, so far as our Government is concerned, they represent it just as completely as those designated by the President always have represented our Government in the conferences and negotiations which he properly authorizes in the conduct of our foreign relations." The extreme attitude of the Senate really defeated itself. Instead of that body exercising its constitutional control over appointments and treaties during these early years, it had little or no voice in these matters where they concerned League activities. Unofficial observers were appointed without their consent and the policies they were instructed to insist upon in international conferences were largely beyond Senate control.

The extreme position of the United States has been modified gradually. Isolated action, in the uncertain form it took during the first years of the Harding-Coolidge régime, was modified step by step. Instead of ignoring the League, as had been done in 1921, the United States by 1925 was participating officially in the Paris financial conference and in the opium conference. Europe recognized from the first the impossibility of the satisfactory conduct of international affairs without the co-operation of the United States, and gradually the American government came to realize that American interests required a measure of active co-operation with the League, although without League membership. To these American policies has been given the euphonious name, "co-operation without entangling alliances."

Provision for the organization of a Permanent Court of International Justice, commonly referred to as the World Court, was specified by article fourteen of the Covenant of the League of Nations as a duty of the Council. During its first session in January and February, 1920, steps were taken to execute the mandate. A statute was adopted, ratified, judges chosen and the Court opened for business to the states of the world in May, 1922. The first regular annual session was opened 15 June, 1922. The Court consists of eleven judges, elected by the Council and the Assembly of the League, acting separately from candidates nominated by the Hague Tribunal. It has jurisdiction over international disputes, which are voluntarily submitted to it; provided, however, that



states may adopt a special agreement making submission of cases obligatory among the ratifying parties. The Court also may render advisory opinions on requests of the League Council or Assembly. Membership in the Court is independent of membership in the League. Those states which ratify the Covenant become members of the League. Those which ratify the Statute become members of the Court. A state may be a member of either organization without being a member of the other.

The government of the United States had no part in the making of the Statute of the World Court, although Elihu Root, the most distinguished exponent of the World Court idea in the United States, was chosen as one of the commission charged by the Council with the task of drafting that document. When the judges of the Court were elected, one of the regular judges chosen was John Bassett Moore, one of the most distinguished authorities on international law. Official action in the Court question on the part of the United States was not taken till February, 1923. President Harding asked the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, for his opinion on the question of adherence. Hughes's letter of 17 February, 1923, laid down the basis of American policy. He recommended adherence with four reservations. First, the ratification of the Court Statute should not involve the United States in any legal relation with the League of Nations. Second, equality with other states must be granted to the United States in the election of judges. Third, the share of expense to be paid by the United States should be determined by congress. Fourth, the amendment of the Statute should be prohibited except with the consent of the United States. On this basis, Harding submitted the protocol of ratification to the Senate for its approval. No action was taken. Coolidge added a fifth reservation in his annual message of 3 December, 1924, to the effect that advisory opinions rendered by the Court should not be binding on the United States without its consent. It was not until 17 December, 1925, that the debates in the Senate began. The irreconcilable opposition was led by such men as Borah, Brookhart, Frazier, and La Follette, Jr., among the republicans. These men belong to the group who call themselves radicals or liberals in domestic policy. Among democrats only James Reed of Missouri and Blease of South Carolina opposed the Court. The whole campaign for ratification was managed in the Senate on a bi-partisan basis.

Filibustering on the part of the radicals threatened to defeat the ratification, although it was evident that a strong two-thirds majority were in favor. A cloture petition was accordingly presented on 22 January, 1926, signed by forty-eight senators; twenty-four democrats and twenty-four republicans. It was carried 25 January by a vote of 68 to 26. The final vote on ratification was had on 27 January and was carried by a vote of 76 to 17.

The five reservations required that before the ratification should become effective the powers members of the Court must accept them. This result was to be

accomplished by an exchange of notes with each of the powers separately. They suggested that the United States meet with them at Geneva to discuss the American reservations. This the United States refused to do. The powers then met for consultation and drafted an answer. The reservation on advisory opinions was the chief point of disagreement. As passed by the Senate this reservation was more extreme than that suggested by Coolidge. It objected to the Court rendering an advisory opinion in any case in which the United States may be a party or in which the United States may claim an interest, without the consent of the United States. It was decided not to accept this reservation without some modification, as it would give to the United States a privileged position in the Court.

The November elections in 1926 brought serious republican defeats. Coolidge announced in his armistice day address in Kansas City that he would not ask the Senate to modify its position. Thus the United States remained out of the Court. The anti-Court press announced in connection with the elections that the World Court was defeated at the polls, as several World Court senators were defeated for re-election either at the primaries or at the general election. Such generalizations are misleading. There were thirty-two senators to be elected in 1926. Of the pro-Court senators ten were defeated and fifteen elected. Of the anti-Court senators five were re-elected and two were defeated. On the assumption that the World Court was the deciding issue in these elections anti-Court sentiment determined the result for fifteen senators, while pro-Court sentiment determined the result for seventeen. This leaves a margin of two in favor of the Court. However, in examining the local issues in the several states where senators were to be elected there is good reason to believe that the World Court was not the decisive issue. In two outstanding contests for instance, Illinois and North Dakota, the agricultural issue seems to have been the decisive factor.

The elections of 1926 did decide one important question. A group of insurgent republicans had been excluded from the party as a result of their bolting the party in 1924. The republicans after the 1926 elections found themselves with one member less than the democrats. The four insurgent members held the balance of power between the parties. The insurgents were anti-Court. For political reasons the conclusion of the whole business was obvious; drop the Court and invite the insurgents back into the fold—a move which was soon accomplished. It is only in this indirect manner that the elections of 1926 defeated the World Court. It was exaggerated nationalism and partisan politics that defeated ratification.

Wilson assumed the responsibility for the defeat of the reservations to the League of Nations Covenant—reservations which were unacceptable to the states members of the League. Coolidge accepted such reservations to the World Court Statute, shifting the responsibility for rejection of the American reservations to the states members of the Court. In both

cases the conditions of American adherence were excessive, and would have destroyed the principle of equality of states so far as that principle was embodied in those documents. In both cases the results were the same—defeat. Which method represents statesmanship and which partisan politics, the method of Wilson or that of Coolidge?

In the preceding pages some of the exaggerated nationalistic policies of the United States have been discussed. In most other countries, notably France and Italy, much of the same kind of a nationalistic reaction occurred, emphasizing discrimination and aggressive bargaining for commercial policies. It was part of the heritage of the war, but these selfish policies represent only one phase of the period. Opposed to them was the general influence of the League of Nations irresistibly pushing into the foreground the principles of equality of treatment, removal of commercial barriers and discrimination, and co-operative action in adjusting international problems and differences.

Social and humanitarian questions of international character have been handled by two types of organizations since the war. The first type in point of time is the international bureaus and unions which were of pre-war origin. The second, the League of Nations, represents a much broader scope of activities and a more complete machinery of administration. The League Covenant provided for the League to take over the independent bureaus and unions with the consent of the parties thereto, and many of them would have been absorbed or affiliated, but for the opposition of the United States. In 1921 the League took steps to organize its health activities. The International Office of Public Health, created in 1907, found itself unable to co-operate directly because of the opposition of the United States to any organization of which it was a member becoming attached to the League. The Permanent Health Organization of the League was later organized and indirectly through a mixed committee co-operated with the International Office of Public Health, and an American was appointed to the Standing Health Committee. This isolationist policy on the part of the United States on social and humanitarian questions has not been permanent. There has been a gradual modification of attitude till in the opium conferences in 1925 the United States was officially represented. This broader policy has been applied also to some other questions.

International economic questions have presented a somewhat more difficult problem from the standpoint of American foreign policy, and are of more vital importance to world peace. As one writer has put it: "Economic problems have taken the place of religion and of dynasty as offering the greatest danger of through international action: through machinery of spirit among business men are, therefore, doubly dangerous." There are two methods of approach by which these problems can and are being adjusted through international action; through machinery of economic self-government, and through the political machinery of states acting internationally.

Among business men there are two quite extreme points of view represented in foreign policies. One group is extremely nationalistic, aggressively imperialistic and is constantly appealing to the government to assist in business promotion abroad. It is such attitudes which cause modern wars.

The other group are internationally minded and throw their influence on the side of those international accords which form the basis of good will among the powers. It is one of the peculiarities of the American situation that many of the most important contributions to world peace and stability have been coming from the broader-minded business man, often a conservative in politics, rather than from the professional liberal, whose stock in trade is the protection of the "poor people" from the exploitation of Wall Street and the international banker. It is this second type of business man who has supported the League of Nations and the International Chamber of Commerce.

The International Chamber of Commerce has been created as an instrumentality of better understanding and self-adjustment among the business men of the world—a kind of business men's league of nations. Beginning in 1906 there were occasional congresses of chambers of commerce, but it was in 1919 that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States took steps toward the meeting for the creation of a permanent international body. This meeting was held in Paris in 1920, and the permanent organization was effected. Membership consists of national chambers of commerce and trade associations with one vote each. Associate memberships of firms or individuals are provided, but without a vote. The headquarters are located at Paris, with permanent resident commissioners. The range of subjects considered by the organization is much the same as those considered by governments in conducting foreign economic policies.

The ideas of this newer type of business man are illustrated by Victor M. Cutter, president of the United Fruit Company, writing in *Current History* for October, 1927. "The greatest and most complicated problem is international commerce. In the final solution it will be placed upon a just and sound basis, not by the judicial acts of the governments concerned, but by the establishment of intimate and friendly relations between manufacturers. Twenty years ago there were those who preached economic independence. Today, the folly of this doctrine is apparent to everyone. We have created a demand for so large a proportion of manufactured products which we must import that we lose our independence upon this count alone." "Foreign trade today means a full and free contact with all the countries of the world, and it means that our viewpoint must change from a national to an international one. It has been proven time and time again that there is little use in bolstering up foreign trade by Imperialism."

"It is the business men of a few great nations," in the opinion of General Tasker H. Bliss, writing in *Foreign Affairs*, "that will decide most future questions of peace and war. Can they not decide them in a business way? Can they not establish a working

rule that will guarantee a fair distribution of the natural products of the world—that will assure their supply of coal, iron, copper, oil, or what not in the markets of the world without the constant apprehension of political interference? If they can they can do more than anything else to check war for the indefinite future."

Economic disarmament, it has often been pointed out, must precede military disarmament, and nations must substitute some form of international regulation for national trade promotion. The post-war political movement in that general direction has its beginnings in Wilson's Third Point: "The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations...." In a modified form, this idea went into the Covenant of the League. The peace conference avoided the most vital questions of economic equality, partly at least because the United States was not ready to sacrifice certain national economic policies. The whole problem, therefore, was postponed, to be adjusted later by the League, and in pursuance of these ends the League has been active.

The arbitration of trade disputes between business men of different nationalities is an important case of international economic friction, which has been met to a certain degree by both economic and political organization. The business men of several countries have adopted the method of arbitration of such disputes through their own machinery, rather than through appeals to the national courts of one of the parties. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States very early made an agreement with Argentine business men at Buenos Aires and in 1920 the Pan-American Financial Conference endorsed this type of procedure. Later agreements were made with Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The International Chamber of Commerce, at its London meeting in 1921, endorsed the plan and machinery was set up and rules of procedure were adopted. In the United States a conference of trade bodies, under the auspices of the Department of Commerce, 15 November, 1921, recommended federal legislation legalizing arbitration and treaties extending it. The League economic committee had a sub-committee at work on the problem and a protocol was drafted embodying the program.

The question of raw materials illustrates another method of meeting international economic problems. Customarily, business men have endeavored to secure exclusive control of certain raw material supplies, often with the backing of their government. The oil war in the Near East is a vivid illustration. However, instead of exclusive concessions, the Turkish Petroleum Company provides for the delivery of oil to four national groups on a basis of 25 per cent. to each, British, French, Dutch, and American. Thus, international rivalry is eliminated, and each national group of companies is assured of its supply from the Iraq fields by way of a Mediterranean port.

The problem of equality of treatment of commerce as respects customs, tonnage dues, and rail rates was

given definite consideration in 1923 by the League conference on communications and transit, and a convention and statute were adopted. Article 8 provided for retaliation against nations making discriminations in favor of their nationals. The merchant marine act of 1920 represents the opposite point of view of the nationalist wing of the Congress of the United States. The attempt of Mr. Hughes, in the German treaty ratified in 1925, was to bring the United States into harmony with these broader international ideals.

Prior to the war there was a series of international conventions respecting electric communications. The last one on wireless was signed in 1912. After the war a communications conference was held in Washington in 1920 and about the same time a similar one was held in Paris under the auspices of the League. In 1923 another League committee held two meetings and in 1925 a third. Later, in 1925, a preliminary telegraphic conference was held in Paris, and still another was scheduled for Washington in October, 1927. The problem of cable telegraph and wireless is still outstanding and can be adjusted only through international co-operation.

The regulation of air navigation was met by a committee of the Peace Conference in 1919. An air convention was drafted and ratified by most nations. Nearly all of those which have ratified the convention have enacted the necessary national legislation. The United States has not ratified.

The broadest step that has been taken to arrive at a better understanding of international economic problems in general was the meeting of the International Economic Conference at Geneva, 4 May, 1927, under the auspices of the League of Nations. There were 47 nations present, including the three greatest non-members of the League—the United States, Russia, and Turkey. The conference was peculiarly constituted. It was not made up of diplomatic representatives of the governments concerned, but rather of individuals chosen for their knowledge of the problems involved. It was thought by the Council of the League that a conference so constituted could act with greater freedom, and the results of the meeting would be of greater benefit in sounding out the possibilities of future agreements to be undertaken later through the regular diplomatic channels. The work of the conference was done by three commissions: Industry, Commerce, and Agriculture. No definite recommendations were made by the Industry Commission on the subject of cartels. In all it was found that there were twenty European cartels and in all of them the business interests of the United States were participating. The Commerce Commission urged the removal of import and export prohibitions, condemned special privileges to state-controlled enterprises which compete with private business, and, lastly, advised an international agreement to govern the treatment of foreigners and foreign enterprises. The Agriculture Commission urged the farmers to adopt better scientific methods, advocated an international campaign against animal and plant diseases, approved the extension of co-operative marketing, and advo-



caused greater freedom of movement of agricultural products in international trade. In justifying the economic conference as a method of meeting such problems a French representative in the League of Nations Assembly presented an argument which is difficult to answer. "It [the Assembly] will vote for it with confidence, because the bitter experience which we have undergone—and which must never be allowed to occur again—proves to all that the course on which we are embarking is at least *a priori* better than that we have already followed."

#### MILITARY DISARMAMENT

Economic disarmament, could it have been attained even approximately during the first decade after the World War, would undoubtedly have contributed much to military disarmament. Both movements have made some advance during the period, but it has been slow and uncertain. The nationalist reaction, national economic self-sufficiency, and military security have been formidable obstacles. Wilson approached the question in his Fourteen Points from the standpoint of reduction of armament to a standard of "domestic safety." In the League Covenant the standard indicated was "national safety," "taking into account the geographical situation and circumstances of each state." The League created its permanent advisory commission in 1920, and also a commission on reduction of armaments, later called the co-ordination commission. Work was undertaken on various subjects, private arms manufacture, interchange of information concerning armament, trade in war materials, chemical and bacteriological warfare, limitation of national expenditures on armament, international control of armament, the extension of the principles of the Washington naval treaty, and a protocol was drafted for the pacific settlement of international disputes. These activities led to the meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of 1926-1927 to prepare the way for a general disarmament conference: land, sea, and air.

On certain of the points indicated above the position of the United States has been clearly defined by the administration. It is opposed to discussion of the question of private manufacture of arms so long as the question of government manufacture is not included. The Washington Conference drafted a treaty outlawing chemical warfare (1922), which has not been ratified, and the United States insisted in the League conference on international trade in arms that a similar prohibition must be included. The limitation of national expenditures for armament has been disapproved as impractical, and international control over armament in any form has been absolutely refused.

The first important act of the United States on the question of armament after the defeat of the League of Nations in the Senate was the move made by Harding in calling a limitation of armament conference. The defeat of the League obligated the new administration to take some action as a substitute. The British Empire was faced with the problem of

the renewal of the Japanese Alliance and the adjustment of the Pacific problems of the Dominions. The result was the linking of limitation of armament with Pacific and Far East problems when the formal invitations were issued 11 August, 1921, to the major powers. Although nine powers interested in the Pacific attended the conference, only five powers participated in the limitation of armament treaties: the United States, the British Empire, Japan, France, and Italy. Limitation was placed upon capital ships, aircraft carriers, and upon the size of cruisers. In a second treaty, poison gas was outlawed, and a limitation was placed upon the use of submarines to the effect that they were not to be used as commerce destroyers. In a third treaty a pledge was given not to strengthen fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific with certain exceptions. The League urged that the principles of the Washington naval limitation treaty be extended to other states, but opposition to the fixed ratio plan defeated the attempt. The plan of the American government assumed that all branches of naval service were of equal value, regardless of geographical location and other factors conditioning security. France held as a matter of national military policy that submarines were its most important naval unit. The British Empire placed emphasis upon cruisers. It was these differences which played an important part in making impossible the extension of the 5:5:3 ratio to all classes of vessels at Washington in the beginning. When the scope of the plan was extended to include all powers the plan was doomed. While details vary, the other major powers held to some form of global tonnage limitation which would permit each state to distribute its total tonnage among the different classes of vessels according to its national needs.

When it seemed to President Coolidge early in 1927 that the Preparatory Disarmament Commission was not arriving at what he believed satisfactory results in considering land, water, and air armaments together, he suggested a conference of the powers signatories of the Washington naval treaty to meet to discuss the extension of the limitation of armaments. Italy and France declined. Great Britain and Japan accepted. The wording of the notes, however, is of great importance. In refusing the invitation, France pointed out that the United States would "not be astonished to see French opinion preoccupied with its duties as a member of the League of Nations and with its moral obligations toward all the powers which form part of it." And, furthermore, France stated "an attentive study of the American proposals has convinced the Government of the republic that in their present form they risk compromising the success of the task already commenced at Geneva with the active help of the representatives of the American Government." The refusal to the second American note was even more pointed. It concluded as follows: "For us it is a question of probity toward the League of Nations. Considering the spirit in which the delegations have favorably received our proposals, we cannot let any doubt arise as to the sincerity of our



efforts." The British note of acceptance closed with this significant statement: "They would, however, observe that the relation of such a conversation to the proceedings of the Preparatory Commission at Geneva would require careful adjustment."

The three powers met at Geneva, 20 June-4 August, without arriving at any agreement. The United States persisted in its policy of extending the 5:5:3 ratio to all classes without modification to allow for the national policies of the British Empire and Japan. The British insisted upon a cruiser policy which seemed to be an expansion rather than a limitation of naval armament. If the conference accomplished nothing more it brought home to the American people a broader comprehension of the nature of the limitation of armament program and the difficulties attending it. When the League failed to secure satisfactory results it was hailed in the United States by anti-League elements as merely another proof that the League was a failure anyway. When the American plan failed so ignominiously it was necessary to find another explanation.

It is valuable to make some comparisons between the Washington and the Geneva conferences on naval limitation. At the time of the former conference the League was barely established and its future was uncertain. The United States had refused to deal with the League and the powers were anxious for American co-operation. Harding's limitation of armament program was linked with the British necessity of a Pacific settlement to conciliate the empire, and with the necessity of readjusting the Japanese alliance. An understanding of the Washington Conference is impossible except when one appreciates the British Influence. The other Allied powers were also interested in a stabilization of the Far East in the light of the situation which had developed during the World War. The United States, in 1921, was engaged in the largest naval building program in the nation's history, which would disturb radically the historic balance of naval power. The conference applied the limitation primarily to capital ships whose prestige was seriously compromised at the time by sub-marines and airplanes. Lastly, all the powers concerned made substantial sacrifices in one form or another to accomplish the result. Conditions seemed to demand a settlement which would disarm suspicion if not ships, and check the threatened naval armament competition.

At the time of the three-power Geneva Conference the League had proved itself by six years of work, and the major obligations of the member states were to the League. The notes of Great Britain and France both took the view that the work of the League conference must take precedence, and that the work of an independent conference must be subordinated to the larger work of the League and co-ordinated with it. The representatives of the United States were already taking part in the work of the League Preparatory Disarmament Commission and what more could the United States contribute to a three-power conference which it could not contribute to the League conference? The Geneva con-

ference did not have any other problems linked with it which would bring pressure to bear in favor of some kind of a compromise settlement. No great naval building programs of a threatening nature were in progress. Extension of the 5:5:3 ratio to other major naval craft was impossible, because geographic location determines the value of different arms of the service, and even then naval experts do not fully agree. Lastly, in any limitation agreement along American lines, the United States would not be making any sacrifice, as the limits set would permit the United States to build up to it. With the other major powers the situation is quite different. They would have to sacrifice what, from their viewpoint regarding national security, would be the strongest branch of their naval service.

#### CONCLUSION

The foregoing survey must be necessarily little more than an outline of the leading foreign policies of the period. It will serve, however, as a basis for organizing the materials of current events to give a meaning and coherence which is too often lacking. The rapidity of change in the contemporary world has become so extraordinary that it issues a challenge to the historian to rebuild his historical methods and his historical structure in order to meet adequately the new demands of acquainting the public, and particularly the younger generation in school, with the significance of the revolutionary changes which have been precipitated upon the world since the World War. The broader relations of the different possible lines of policy to each other should be kept constantly in the foreground.

The first problem in this connection is to understand the relations of the forces which are at work in foreign affairs. The policies of isolation, nationalism, imperialism, militarism, high protective tariff, and economic discrimination represent one side of the problem. They are the old conservative traditions which have been in operation for generations. The policies of co-operation, arbitration, international peace, equality of economic opportunity, military and economic disarmament, and international regulation of certain economic and social questions represent the newer ideas. They must be classified as liberal or progressive foreign policies.

The second problem to be emphasized is the close relation between domestic and foreign policies. There are notable examples in public life of men who are classed as conservatives in domestic policies, such as Taft and Root, who have taken a leading part in contributing to liberal foreign policies. On the other hand, there have been many outstanding liberals in domestic policy who have followed conservative or even reactionary foreign policies. When the conservative in domestic policy supports liberal foreign policy, the logical reaction of that conduct is to force a revision of his domestic policies. Thus one of the most illogical lines of conduct is to support high protective tariff and at the same time endorse equality of economic opportunity and the removal of economic barriers to international trade. When the liberal in

domestic policy endorses exaggerated nationalism, and opposes international co-operation, and economic and military disarmament, he imposes upon the country those domestic policies which he professes to oppose, such as high protection, militarism, imperialism, and international economic warfare. It is just such mental confusion which defeated the League of Nations and the World Court and placed upon the statute books the tariff act of 1922, the merchant marine act of 1920, ratified the German commercial treaty of 1925, and drew the nation into the tariff controversy with France in September and October, 1927.

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## The New History and the Photoplay

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The world today, like that of St. Paul's time, is full of people who share with the ancient Athenians the perennial interest in the *new* thing. On the other hand, how easy it is for the initiated few to overlook the fact that what they have accepted as "from the beginning" may seem to be both strange and startling—nay, even revolutionary—to the great mass of their fellows. This is true of the exponents of the so-called New History. To the great majority of those who are now engaged in the study of history in our colleges and universities, the history known by this name is far from new, for it is the history which they have known since they made their first contact with the subject. And yet the New History is less than a generation old. The men and women in middle life today—not to go back further—knew an entirely different kind of history. Recall to them their classroom experiences harking back perhaps to their grammar school days—and there comes to mind the same picture—a mass of facts held together by a string of elusive dates. Not that it lacked coherence and organization, but these were not the aspects of it which impressed themselves upon the youthful mind, except in rare cases. This coherence largely depended or seemed to depend upon the ability to remember points of time, and, alas and alack, these were as hazy as the mists of antiquity toward which they pointed!

There are various explanations of this. The subject was more or less removed from the realm of real interest and real life, because it took on largely a political character. History was still blessed or cursed—as you choose to regard it—by its own past, by the fact that it, too, had a history. History had so long been conceived as the prerogative of statesmen and the concern of kings that it still remained a foreign land to the rank and file of teachers and pupils who wrestled with its content in the grammar or high school grades. What mattered it, as the centuries came and went, what the common man thought, said, or did, except as this knowledge aided those in authority to strengthen their hold over him? Why record his activities, when they meant so little, as

against the doings of the great ones? So it is that the historians of our own day are experiencing the greatest of difficulties, as they seek to reconstruct the daily lives of those masses who trembled at the word of a Pharaoh or of a Nebuchadnezzar. The task has been an easy one where the lives of these humble folk touched those of their rulers, but there are great areas beyond this where the records are practically non-existent, or where these activities must be laboriously reconstructed from a mass of minutiae which were altogether overlooked in days gone by.

The New History is largely a result of the rapid democratization of society. This is a day in which the thoughts and activities of the common man are more and more reflected in the life of the nation, and find their expression in the words and acts of its outstanding personalities. The well-informed person of today talks in terms of mob or mass psychology, recognizing as never before the influence of these countless human factors upon the life of the whole of which they are a part. And so a tremendous impetus has been injected into the study of sociology as that body of principles or that field of knowledge which seeks to reveal the key to an understanding of the interrelationships of these human atoms.

The attitude, the interests, and the intelligence of the man on the street are reflected more and more in the life of the nation, for the stream does not rise higher than its source. The cultivation of an understanding and a sympathy with his fellowman is the main task of high and low in an age and a century where all types rub elbows, even to the extent of peoples of strange tongues and cultures.

A new conception of history has been the result. This conception of the meaning and task of history has not been reached all at once. Alas, it is not yet understood, even in our public schools, where the masses are being taught. It has forced history into new molds; it has broadened its scope; it has established new relationships with other fields of knowledge; it has often forced it to become a kind of liaison officer in the vast field of human knowledge and activity. Man as a political animal, important as



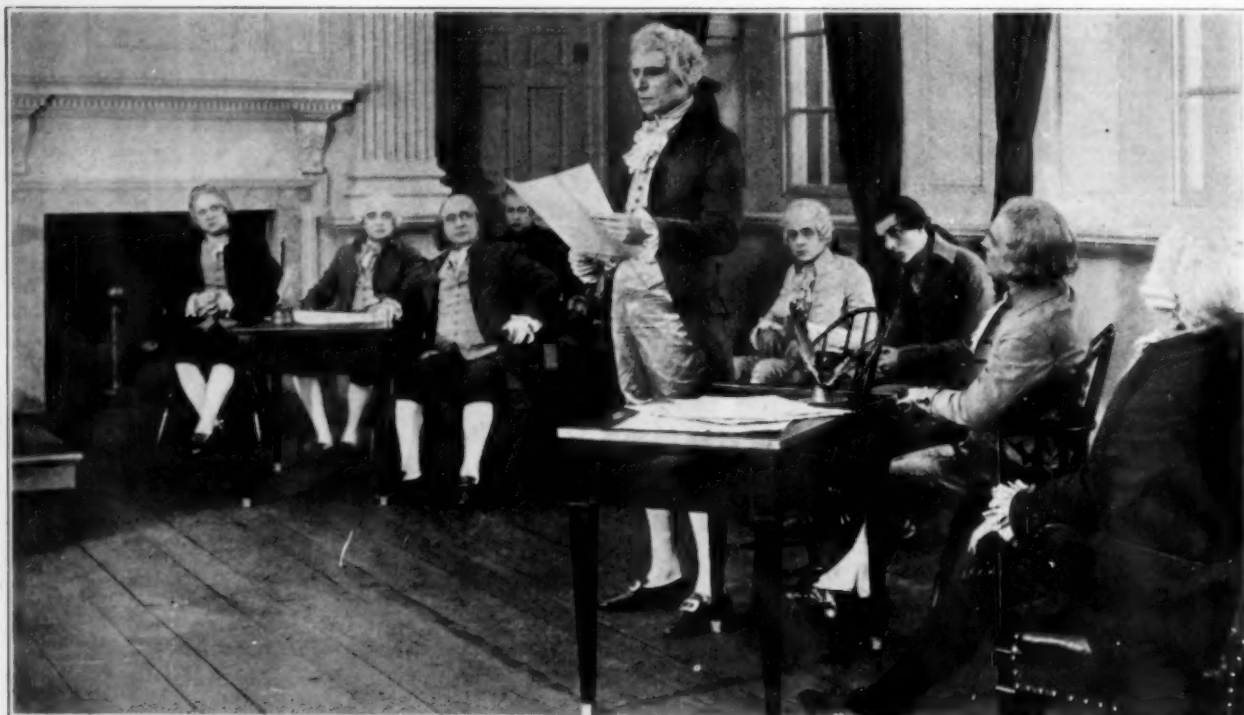
A vendor of "Common Sense" offers a copy to a radical Tory, while Thomas Paine watches his reaction.



Reproduction of a street in Philadelphia in 1776 for the Chronicle of America, "The Declaration of Independence," produced by Yale University Press.

On a street corner in Philadelphia Thomas Paine overhears a group of citizens discussing his essay "Common Sense," which strongly advocates colonial independence from the mother country.





Scene in Independence Hall, June 7, 1776, when Richard Henry Lee of Virginia proposed his resolution that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."



In Independence Hall, July 4, 1776, Congress has just adopted the Declaration of Independence.

"John Bull won't need his spectacles to read that name!" said John Hancock after affixing his signature to the Declaration of Independence, on July 4, 1776, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Scene from "The Declaration of Independence," a Chronicle of America, produced by Yale University Press.

he is, is no longer the principal subject of consideration. We have learned—and are still learning—that it is his many-sided nature which is so often the key to the expression of his political interests. His vote is dictated too often in terms of his social or his economic status. Hence, the emphasis upon social, intellectual, and economic history, and the increasing number of volumes which seek to trace the influence of these forces in human development. Every branch of man's activities offers itself as a theme for the historian, and so we have histories of industry, of commerce, of costume, of thought. A forthcoming history of our own country running into several volumes is heralded as a history of the common man.

Along with this demand for the exploitation of fields which were formerly more or less untraveled, there has come a demand for a synthesis, a bringing together of these various aspects into one comprehensive survey or picture or series of pictures. So we have the interest in universal or world history. Universal histories are not a product of the twentieth century, by no means, but the universal or world history of today is a far different compilation from that of a generation or so ago. Not only is the motif different, but its scope and its emphasis are new. The common man is coming into his own. He is in the process of *becoming*, and that process takes on greater and greater significance with the passing of time, especially as it becomes the phenomena of hitherto backward lands and races. Hence, the welcome accorded to a Hendrick Van Loon or an H. G. Wells by those who were brought up in terms of that rather narrow, unreal contact with the life streams of the past, which characterized the teaching of so recent a period as the opening years of the twentieth century.

The desire of the man on the street to make himself thoroughly conversant with the activities of his fellows through a contact of a more objective character, which the study of history makes possible, his keen interest in those activities, places upon historical scholar and teacher a burden of responsibility of which their predecessors were seldom conscious. His work must be more and more in terms of this man in the street. More and more must he labor in order that the results of his research may be translated into terms which this man may understand. More and more are his services being demanded as a public servant, in order that he may apply the results of his studies and teachings to the problems of this complicated age. His very meticulousness in establishing or re-establishing the facts in a given situation all point directly toward the great objective of all this study, viz., a better understanding of the main character in this drama of life, man himself. Know thyself! was the great maxim left by the Greek philosopher. What better way of securing this knowledge than seeing himself mirrored in the acts of others!

We used to conceive of the study of a given portion of history as conditioned upon the inculcation of a particular set of ideas or notions. Ask any of the older generation for their conception of the American Revolution. It reduces itself roughly to that of

a struggle between tyrannical British redcoats and liberty-loving Americans, usually clothed in homespun. This conception of history has not passed. It probably explains the attitude of an eighth-grade class who saw John Hancock's picture in one of the *Chronicles of American Photoplays*. It was inconceivable that a leading opponent of British tyranny should be garbed so magnificently. It was a mark of a Whig to dress in homespun; silks and satins were the mark of the Tory.

The work of those teachers who have been under the spell of the old history has been done so well that as recently as last fall the Bishop of London, speaking to an American audience, mildly criticized us for the hatred of the English which the teaching of history seemed to engender in our children. More recently still we have the spectacle of Chicago. Perhaps this new history is not so new nor so well established as we would like to think of it. But this is somewhat of a digression.

In the more progressive schools, where the teachers have really caught the vision of the new day which has dawned, the task is worked out differently. Preconceived ideas and notions have been abandoned as the goal of instruction. The interpretation of mankind is essentially an individual task, and it is the business of the teacher to assist the pupil in such an interpretation by placing the pupil in the proper relation to the task in hand and by revealing clearly its fundamental nature. The learner must appreciate the method by which the facts in a given situation may be acquired and organized. He must realize the conditions under which this work should be done. It is a laborious piecing together of the data so that at last the situation is recreated or reconstructed. A critical spirit must accompany this—accepting, rejecting, rearranging—until the picture is completed. For picture it is—a series of images impressed upon the brain, sometimes clear-cut and meaningful; at other times vague, hazy, and inconsequential. Interpretation there will be, but it will be an interpretation in the learner's own terms. It will not be an image drawn after a preconceived pattern, but will be one which is essentially his own. The task will not be unlike the fascinating pursuit of solving picture puzzles which was in such vogue during the Great War. Bit by bit the related facts are assembled, until suddenly there bursts upon the view the completed picture. The result, however, while it may approximate the findings of others, is essentially the worker's own, and is stamped with the impress of his individuality. It is colored by his own environment and envisaged as his eyes and brains reflect it. What a satisfaction this!

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This is one of the chief reasons why the particular form of history represented by the photoplay<sup>1</sup> is so

<sup>1</sup>The particular form of the photoplay under consideration is an attempt to incorporate in a three-reel film some of the chief episodes out of the past. Yale University Press has already prepared fifteen of these photoplays or historical film-dramas.

challenging, and, withal, so satisfying. Such a motion picture brings the spectator as near to the realities of existence in the past as is possible under present conditions of reproducing these. He is actually present at the events. There has been built up for him, under the painstaking guidance of the historical scholar, co-operating with the scenario writer and the photographer, a mosaic so fine that no detail pertinent to the whole has been neglected, even to the way a dinner party may be seated at table, or the prevailing fashion of clipping horses' tails in 1754. These may seem like trivial things, but are not the trivial things of life those which reflect the real self and do they not enter into the very warp and woof of one's being, reflecting what man is or hopes to be?

Of course, the spectator will be thrilled over the main theme. The very names of the actors and their well-known accomplishments would thrill him without this particular form of contact. But these bits which make up the whole will gain added meaning and themselves lend greater significance to the whole if he will stop to observe them and try to appreciate them. It is not alone the well-known leaders who occupy the stage, nor is it their acts which commit the country to momentous decisions. The rank and file are there. They, too, become vocal; the landlady, the unknown merchant, the debtor, the lamplighter. The photoplay, "The Declaration of Independence," in which these characters appear, will serve as an illustration.

Here is the title-page and a leaf from an actual

copy of Thomas Paine's "Common Sense," which everyone is reading. It is addressed to "The Inhabitants of America." John Adams, one of the delegates to the Continental Congress, has seen it, and so has his landlady. "A fine book, isn't it, sir?" is her comment to the great man; "since my husband read it he's warm for independence." Franklin, too, has seen it and comments upon it as he comes to Adams' lodging to discuss the situation. Groups on the street corner are talking its language and are encouraged by its author to translate it into action. Great hopes are attached to its message. Witness the encounter between the Tory merchant and his debtor. "When we get independence," is the latter's retort, "there'll be no more courts or prisons!" The debtor appears later in the rôle of a distributor and salesman of the booklet, and as the merchant comes upon him while he is engaged in his task the salesman says significantly, "By this work I'm earning the money to pay my debt to you." A husband who has curtly refused it finds a copy in his hands through the interest—or is it the curiosity—of his wife. The significance of the words "inhabitants of America" becomes more and more evident as the story moves on toward the climax. Here are some more of them. This time it is not the setting of a Philadelphia street, but that of a magnificent ballroom. Even in the midst of their pleasures they break up into groups of "Rebels, Royalists, and Moderates," and, as they dance or drink, they appear to do so under the spell of the great events which are transpiring. As we are allowed with the delegates to enter the hall of the



A social gathering in Philadelphia on an evening in March, 1776. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee and Edward Rutledge watch the minuet.



Continental Congress, we sense the tenseness of the situation and the difficulties attendant upon taking so radical a step, as we see Richard Henry Lee rise to offer his famous resolutions. Dickinson is on his feet in a moment. We anticipated it. As the scene fades we are soon forced to agree with Franklin that "It is plain we cannot get unanimity today!"

The street corners are again the gathering place of "the inhabitants," and the lamplighter, too, participates in the discussion, venturing with some of his betters to criticize the actions of those "pigheaded" representatives, Robert Morris and Thomas Dickinson. One after the other we catch a glimpse of the little groups of delegates as they prepare for the fateful meeting of July 2d. And now the voting has begun and two chairs stand unoccupied in the Pennsylvania section, and Franklin looks at them significantly as he answers "Aye" when Pennsylvania's name is called. Few situations parallel the dramatic intensity of that famous roll-call, and the spectator breathes a sigh of relief as John Adams turns to his neighbor, saying, "That makes it unanimous."

The affixing of Hancock's signature and the remarks of Franklin and Robert Carroll of Carrollton are but details, but they take on a new significance as they are viewed in their setting. Here is another glimpse of our friend, the debtor and pamphlet-

seller. He is now an active sharer in the outburst of popular approval which follows. In his new "continental" uniform he ascends the steps of Independence Hall and wrests the paper crown from the head of an effigy of King George the Third.

There is a human touch about such a mosaic, a combination of the serious and of the humorous which lends reality and significance to the event itself. It is set forth in a new light just because of these little things which form so large a part of the setting and the action. When we bear in mind that every actor has been cast for his part with a view to his reflecting in height, appearance, and bearing the men of the period as we know them; when we sense the eighteenth-century tone which runs through the series of pictures, we begin to realize what an appropriate vehicle the photoplay is for the type of history which has just been described.

The challenge in this kind of a presentation lies in the fact that as settings and scenes are flashed upon the screen they corroborate or deny the validity of the spectator's own mental images. True, they may never have been formulated so distinctly. He is, however, very conscious of their presence as he questions this or is startled by that, or expresses his confirmation or approval. The new history has at last found a most appropriate vehicle for its expression—the photoplay.

## The Place of Ethics in a Teacher-Training Program for the Social Studies

BY DEAN MILTON BENNION, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Ethical character has long been accepted as one of the principal objectives of education. This fact received new emphasis and wide publicity with the publication in 1918 of the "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education," a bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education. Ethical character is there listed by the N. E. A. Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education as one of seven objectives. Of the remaining six, four, at least (worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, and worthy use of leisure), can be realized only in connection with and largely by means of ethical character; the other two—health, and command of fundamental processes—are valuable, in the main, only as they contribute toward making ethical character socially effective.

If these facts are conceded, does it not follow inevitably that teachers should be familiar with the principles of ethics. Were knowledge of the abstract formulæ of right and wrong sufficient, the task of training teachers for this phase of their work would be easy; but right and wrong are realized only in the concrete; and concrete social situations are often very complex and intricate. Even the most enlightened citizens are sometimes puzzled in attempting to decide what is the right thing to do. This is often the case with respect to the obligations of the individual as a

member of various social institutions, such as his family, his church, his city, or his state. This problem is, of course, closely allied to that of determining the duties or moral obligations of these institutions to their members and to society as a whole. When these duties and obligations have been determined they can, of course, be carried out only by united, intelligent action of the constituent members of the respective institutions.

Since the social studies are especially concerned with the functions of social institutions, there is manifestly very great need that teachers of these subjects have clear grasp of the ethical principles involved and have judgment and skill in applying them to the solution of real, significant social problems. The world is full of such problems; youth is eager to solve them.

Fundamental ethical principles underlie practically all important phases of government. This is true of legislative, administrative, and judicial procedures. The constitution itself attempts to determine the fundamental rights of man and to subordinate the powers of government to these natural or inherent rights. Legislative majorities are held in check by the powers of the courts; executive officers can act only within the limits of authority granted them by legislation or by court decision.

In a democracy it is assumed that it is a majority

of the people who will ultimately determine what government may or may not do. In making such decisions, however, the people have no rational ground of judging except on the basis of their conceptions of right and wrong as related to the general welfare. Otherwise, how do they determine that freedom of speech and freedom of the press shall not be abridged? That all citizens shall have equal civil rights? And that government shall not prohibit the free exercise of religion?

While in some instances of conduct a citizen's course of action may for him be predetermined by the law, legislative bodies have to determine what these laws shall be. Most bills upon which legislators pass judgment are related either directly or indirectly to ethics; for example, laws relating to taxation—national, state, or local. Are the expenditures for which the revenue is being raised ethically justifiable? Is the method of taxation proposed just? The time is passed when tax laws may be based upon the so-called principle of "getting the most feathers with the least squawk." Most of the defects in our present tax laws are due to insufficient attention to underlying ethical principles.

Federal and local laws relating to prohibition of alcoholic beverages, so much discussed pro and con these days, relate primarily to questions of ethics. This is true, also, of most labor legislation, as it is also of legislation pertaining to education and public welfare. Shall the state provide free vocational education; if so, should it be only industrial and commercial, or should the state include professional education? If so, what professions? The facts seem to be that these questions are now answered in practice by the states, quite as much by tradition as by reason and ethical judgment.

An advanced legislative program in public welfare, social welfare, charities, or by whatever name called, is now impossible in many states, because socialized conscience and civic intelligence among citizens are not strong enough or sufficiently diffused to cope with the unenlightened selfishness of some powerful financial interests, on the one hand, and dense ignorance on the part of the general public pertaining to social-ethical principles, on the other. A press that is free to defend the private interests of its owners is commonly able to form a political alliance with enough ill-informed or misinformed voters to win an election and to control at least one branch of the legislature. The remedies for these evils lie not alone in wider diffusion of knowledge of social facts; this is, of course, necessary; but knowledge of guiding principles is even more essential. It is the business of ethics to discover these principles and the methods of applying them in any given situation.

In the field of civics there are also large and important problems of administration; these cannot be solved apart from ethical considerations. Health officers, for instance, have very large discretionary powers. Both the lives and the liberties of many of their fellow-citizens are dependent upon how health officers exercise their powers. Boards of control of

educational systems or institutions and of philanthropic institutions, such as mental hospitals, ought likewise in performance of their official duties to consider first their ethical obligations. This view of the matter is the verdict of the "impartial spectator"; it happens, unfortunately, that many such boards consider first their political partisan obligations. This is why public mental hospitals are often under direction of good political partisan general practitioners in medicine, instead of being under direction of competent psychiatrists. Evidently, boards that administer their trust in this manner have not fairly considered the primary obligations of the institutions they represent nor how best to fulfil these obligations.

That ethics is becoming more and more important in law and court procedure is evident from the writings of such authorities as Dean Roscoe Pound, of Harvard University Law School. This is true both of domestic and of international law. The greatest political advances in recent times through court decisions have come about where judges have set aside legal precedents and based their decisions upon principles of social ethics. This is notably true of decisions relating to compensation for injuries incident to employment and to decisions relating to the constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of contract. It is seen that the older interpretation of this right and the legal precedents have become instruments of oppression, rather than real protection to individuals. When these reforms have come about by legislation, rather than by court decision, it has been because legislatures were moved also by ethical considerations as against tradition or custom.

In case of the institutions of religion, it is a notable fact that world religions have endured only as each has embodied a system of morals. The churches as institutions responsible for administering these systems of religion are all the time confronted with ethical problems. New situations require new interpretations and new methods of applying even the most fundamental principles that have been transmitted through the ages. It is self-evident that the professional ministers of the churches should have extensive training in ethics; their success, however, depends in large measure upon the ethical understanding of the layman. Teachers of the social studies are chiefly responsible for developing the layman's point of view on social questions.

The functions of the family are likewise primarily ethical. This is now clearly recognized in college departments of home economics and home-making courses in high schools. Sewing and cooking have come to be regarded as of secondary consideration in training for family life. Successful family life is recognized as depending primarily upon establishment and maintenance of satisfactory personal and social relations within the family group, and in the fulfilment of the family's obligations to other institutions and to society at large.

Since study of the institutions of religion and of the family as an institution are major topics in most

courses in sociology, it is evident that teachers of this subject should be thoroughly trained in ethics. This training is, however, also needed in practically all other topics included in a general course in sociology.

The growing importance of ethics in economics is manifest in the very notable recent development of codes of ethics by numerous trade associations. Such codes are of long standing in the older professions; they are in course of rapid development in the newer professions, including that of teaching.

We have already indicated the importance of ethics in relation to some questions of political economy with which legislatures and courts deal. The applications of ethics to problems of individual and corporate business are even more numerous. Recently formulated ethical codes of the trade associations now compiled make a volume more extensive than any high school text in economics. It is a notable fact that college students majoring in economics and business find abundant material for a separate course in business ethics. The newness to many of these students of the point of view developed is sufficient evidence of the need of introducing more ethical principles into courses in economics. Some of these courses are, evidently, now devoted almost wholly to the dollars and cents aspect of the subject.

As to the use of ethics in history, we are aware of the fact that some university professors of history hold to the idea that the historian knows no moral distinctions; that he is concerned only in getting and interpreting the facts, but apparently eliminating ethical interpretations. This may be a legitimate ideal for a historian as such, but as a man he is sure to indulge in some moral judgments even concerning the facts of history. If he is also a high school teacher of history, he will be under the necessity of dealing with the moral judgments of pupils, if his course is to be more than mere fact finding, fact absorbing, and fact reproducing. We conceive the function of history as a high school study to be more than this. It should contribute toward the development of rational moral judgments with respect to the proper relations of our own nation to the Hague

Court of Arbitration, to the League of Nations, to the Court of International Justice, to treaties of conciliation, to the outlawry of war, and to all similar questions.

Are our high school-graduate-citizens merely to await upon development of current history to be learned and put in storage in line with their school habits; or are they actively to contribute to the making of history? If the latter, must they not develop their powers of passing moral judgments upon social questions? and should not their history courses give opportunity to develop these powers?

It will, of course, be granted that much of the wisdom of the intelligent, efficient citizen will come through his active participation in practical affairs after he leaves school. In this, however, he will be under a great handicap if the schools have not done their part in developing ethical intelligence and ethical attitudes. The schools may also be regarded as failing to meet their obligations to society at large, if they fail to prepare youth to participate in business, professional, civic, and social life in which questions of ethics arise at every turn.

This being the status of ethics in the practical affairs of adult life, how can teachers of the social studies properly perform their part without thorough study of the ethical phases of social, civic, and economic problems? In case of college students in preparation for teaching, this can best be accomplished by making ethics co-ordinate with psychology and education as a part of the professional preparation of teachers.

We are aware of the fact that some college courses in ethics are abstract, formal, perhaps metaphysical, and unconnected with the practical affairs of contemporary social life. We are not recommending courses of this type, but rather their opposite; that is, modern social ethics with a great deal of attention given to ethical problems in current social-civic life. Such a course may well be required of all teachers; such requirement is doubly necessary in case of teachers of the social studies.

## How Much Time Shall We Give to European History?

BY D. MONTFORT MELCHIOR, GIRARD COLLEGE, PHILADELPHIA

Anathema was the term "General History" to the Committee of Seven just twenty-eight years ago; today this same general history, arrayed in a more alluring title, 'tis true, is hailed as the solution to the problem of the crowded course in the social studies. When I say "the same general history," I am quite aware that the present-day champion of a one-year course in world history has also condemned utterly the encyclopedic epitomes, as he pleads for "history with a purpose."

The Committee of Seven, in repudiating the course in general history, sought to widen the scope of his-

tory study by providing that four years of history be offered—Ancient history, Medieval and Modern history, English history, and American history and civil government. The weakness of the Committee's recommendation lay in the fact that students were to select from these blocks one or more units, with little regard to continuity or relationships. Ancient history was likely to be elected to meet college entrance requirements, United States history was usually chosen as a second unit, but the gap between was left unbridged more frequently than not. The effect of the report of this Committee was profound:



It gave to history its place of importance in the curriculum, it urged a larger study of government, it gave to United States History the place of honor at the top, it pleaded for better teaching, but it gave us what has been aptly called "truncated history."

By common agreement today we must have all of history. During the last twenty-five years many changes have come about in our attitude toward the public high school—its purpose, its organization, its methods. Subject-matter in the curriculum has had to justify itself, and in no major subject more than in the social studies. No longer can we justify history for its purely cultural value, for its disciplinary value, or for its own sake. The study of history must make the social, the political, and the economic world of today intelligible; it must produce open-mindedness; it must lay the basis for independent judgment; it must make for tolerance; and it must cultivate interested participation in public affairs. But, just when we were beginning to realize the importance of the teaching of history, there came the insistence for greater emphasis upon the other social studies—civics and the larger social and economic problems of our national society. It was urged that the ninth grade be devoted to the study of economic and vocational civics, and that United States history be pushed back to the eleventh year so that the twelfth year be devoted to the study of Problems of Democracy. More disturbing still to the carrying out of the recommendations of the Committee of Seven and the fulfilment of the larger aims of history teaching has been the junior high school movement. Space does not permit a discussion of the significant movements in the reorganization of the program of the seventh, eighth, and ninth years; but whether we look forward to the composite course, as advocated by Professor Rugg, or to some other readjustment of the course, is it logical to end the work of the junior high school with a course in Ancient history, which formerly occupied the old "freshman year"?

These developments of the past generation, involving a restatement of aims, a reorganization of the schools beyond the sixth grade, a reconstruction of curricula, and a revaluation of the units within the social studies group, have raised the question once more, "Shall General History be taught?"

The one-year course in European history has returned to the curriculum, and it has many ardent defenders. Certainly, it is better for the young citizen in our secondary schools to have a one-year survey of the whole of world history than a more detailed section of "truncated" history. The preface of one of the texts planned for a one-year course says, "The great value of history in the school curriculum is to show human progress, to indicate the slow and laborious steps by which man has learned to co-operate with his fellows, and lead the group life. From this it follows that the pupils must begin where the story itself begins and end where it ends."<sup>1</sup> With this thesis there must be universal agreement.

Certainly, too, in the course of a year a high school

student can come to appreciate the chief contributions of the nations of the world, can grasp the significance of some of the world movements that have shaped our civilization, can learn to appreciate the great men who have helped to shape the course of history. It will surely make for more intelligent reading and appreciation, and for more intelligent participation in affairs in the years to follow.

It does solve the *time* problem, for it makes possible a course in world history in the senior high school, without interfering with the years set aside for American History and Problems of Democracy.

But there are difficulties involved in trying to compress pre-literary history and six or seven thousand years of recorded history into seven hundred or eight hundred pages, and to put it into words and sentences within the grasp and interest of tenth-grade pupils. The first sentence of the preface in a widely used text rather apologetically says, "To present the history of the World in a single volume and to make the story at the same time attractive and useful to young readers is a most difficult task."<sup>2</sup>

There is too much material to be covered in so short a time. In the days of the old "General History" there was little said of the period after 1878: China, Japan, Africa, South America figured scarcely at all, the voice of the proletariat was feeble, scientific research was in its infancy, corporate wealth scarcely existed. What a field for study and understanding in which to garner during the hot weeks of May and June!

Furthermore, in a greatly condensed narrative much generalization is almost unavoidable. A movement must be replete with facts, with interesting events—it must have content if it is to be understood, appreciated, and assimilated by a child. If important men are to stand out, are to be remembered, their characteristics, their deeds, their accomplishments must be vividly portrayed. Listen! "Medieval France reached the acme of power under Philip IV, the Fair (1285-1314), the grandson of Saint Louis. Philip was one of the ablest of the French Kings. He is remembered for his many reforms, his efficient government, and his long and successful contest with the papacy. He won a complete victory over Pope Boniface VIII, who had issued a bull declaring that no secular ruler should require the clergy to pay taxes." Why was he one of France's ablest rulers? For what reforms was he remembered? In what respects was his government efficient? What evidences are there of a long struggle with the papacy? Again: "In sculpture, architecture, drama, oratory, poetry, and philosophy, the Greeks rank still among the world's masters. The oriental contributions to the future had been chiefly material: *the Greek contributions were intellectual and spiritual*. Above all, the Greeks gave us the ideal of freedom regulated by self-control—freedom in politics, in religion, and in thought." Quite true! But what would that mean to us if it did not conjure up Phidias, the Parthenon, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Homer, Socrates, the agora, the Areopagus? Children can learn the paragraph,

but what aim or purpose of history is really carried out? "The contribution of Greece to the world," you say. But, after all, what contribution that the child will visualize? No, the writers of "world surveys" have not yet overcome the weakness of generalizations.

Again, we can all agree that the well-trained, highly skilled teacher can do much to fill in the gaps, enlarge the horizon, illustrate the generalizations. He can make use of the library, his slides, his pictures; "with the problem method and committee reports this becomes feasible." But our classrooms are not filled with expert teachers who have mastered their material; sifted it and organized it for practical service; libraries with adequate material are rare, indeed; slides and pictures do not abound; the technique of the problem method has not been mastered. We may argue the necessity for these desiderata, but we must accept facts as they are. We must answer the question, can the average high school teacher, under average teaching conditions, fulfil the aims of history teaching with average high school pupils with the condensed summaries and generalizations that one-year European history courses continue, in the main, to be?

Nor is the one-year course valid if it is only to offset "truncated" history. There is a new world history, as is so well indicated in Professor Gambrill's article in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, October, 1927; but it has hardly been envisaged in the textbooks so far written. Says Professor Gambrill: "Both the courses and the textbooks remain in nearly all cases overwhelmingly European in content and point of view, while the reasons for introducing them are in many cases utterly reactionary. Any one who has the opportunity of visiting schools and making inquiries will soon learn to cover as much ground as possible in the one year of history other than American which is offered, and that the exigencies of a commercial or technical curriculum or the conflicting demands of other social studies are the real explanation, rather than any recognition of a World Community or of the need for a new world history. Such a practice is simply a reversion to the old 'general history' so vigorously attacked a generation ago and for many years so completely discredited. Such a change is not progressive, but reactionary, however much it may superficially seem to conform to a current fashion. When the substance of two or three years' work under the Committee of Seven program is crammed into a highly condensed epitome for one year, it is no wonder that children gag and the course is sometimes such a failure that it has to be dropped from the curriculum."

Yes, world history must take the place of history by periods—that is granted, and this is a tremendous stride in historiography and history teaching; but do we not need more time for it than from 150 to 180 forty or forty-five-minute recitation periods?

What do we want to accomplish by insisting that our pupils cover the sweep of world history? "The pupil should see the growth of the institutions which

surround him; he should see the work of men; he should study the living, concrete facts of the past; he should know of nations that have risen and fallen; he should see tyranny, vulgarity, greed, benevolence, patriotism, self-sacrifice brought out in the lives and works of men." "The social studies should cultivate a sense of membership in the 'world community,' with all the sympathies and sense of justice that this involves as among the different divisions of human society. The first step, however, toward a true 'neighborliness' among nations must be a realization of national ideals, national efficiency, national loyalty, national self-respect, just as real neighborliness among different family groups depends upon the solidarity, the self-respect, and the loyalty to be found within each of the component families." We must impress upon our youth the importance of toleration; they must be led to see that changes come slowly; they must comprehend the background of great upheavals and the momentous crises that have directed the channels of the progress of civilization. All this cannot be done in a hurry. It requires time, discussion, thought, the development of perspective. It cannot be done by placing in the hands of students summarizations and generalizations. The everyday life of the people—their opportunities and their limitations—must be understood. The expression of their ideals in art, literature, sculpture, architecture must be comprehended. True, the problem method presents exceptional opportunity for genuine assimilation of all this, but this procedure is not a time-saver, it is a time-consumer. Probably the greatest exponent of the problem method in the United States found that in the middle of the year this method had to be abandoned, if the students of his class were to cover the year's work and be ready for college entrance examinations. One of the most recent texts in *World History* divides its material into epochs and presents a splendid organization. The text itself can be covered in a year, but the meat of the book is in the thought questions and suggested topics for committee reports. The organization of this material, its assimilation, and presentation require time and cannot be adequately accomplished in thirty-five or thirty-six weeks. It is this very enrichment of the field that makes the appeal to the child, that makes youth forever the lover of history, that makes the past live, that compels appreciation of the struggles that peoples have suffered to give us what we have, to make us what we are. The myths of the Greeks, the legends of Rome, the passion of the Christian church, the evolution of Teutonic institutions, the idealism of the Jesuits, the conflict for democracy, the struggle of the proletariat—these are our heritage, and compressed paragraphs do not unfold them.

We hear much these days of the importance of creative work, of wood-carving, of modeling, of making maps and charts—the "concrete." But what a shock to a boy when he brings in his carved Roman galley, his shield, his spear, to find that the class is no longer interested in Roman life, but is studying the medieval manor; that about the time he is ready

to present his beautifully executed manor the group is listening to Luther challenging the power of the Roman church!

It has been argued that much of recent history should be incorporated in the American history of the eleventh year, but the content of the American history course itself is continually expanding. Either we crowd early American history back into world history, or we find ourselves in the same quandary of having too much material in American history.

But how are we to find place for all the civics and all the history in the time allowed? Have we not perhaps overemphasized the importance of civics? Are we sure that we need the eighth and the ninth years for this subject? Do we need a year for community civics and another year for economic and vocational civics? It is the writer's experience in talking with many teachers that a year given to economic and vocational civics is not satisfactory, that the content is thin, that interest lags. Certainly there is argument for reorganization in this field. In four-year high schools can we not give a half year to ninth-grade civics, thus reserving a year and a half for world history? Are we sure that the 6-3-3 organization is the final word? We hear much of the 6-4-4 plan. The junior college movement is sure

to have its repercussion upon the high school. Frankly, in the chaotic state of high school organization, there can be no immediate answer to the question. Experiment and discussion are necessary. Possibly after continued research, the development of better technique, and after further improvement in the teaching profession, the composite course idea may offer some solution. We may well agree that in vocational courses one year is all that can be given to world history. Had we not better perhaps abandon the idea of presenting the whole political, social, and economic field, and give them a course of the type suggested by Marshall's *Story of Human Progress*?

At present, we must face the fact that the great majority of high schools are four-year high schools, that library and classroom facilities are limited, that teachers are not sufficiently trained. Until we are sure of our ground, until we know that we can accomplish our purpose as well or better than we now do, we must not surrender the one subject in the social studies field that provides the background for thinking through our vital social and economic problems, that furnishes the appreciation of the past, and that must be the basis for the idealism of the future.

<sup>1</sup> Barnard and Rohrbach, "Epochs of World History."

<sup>2</sup> Elson, "Modern World and the Living Past."

## The Overlapping of Content Material in Senior High School Social Science Textbooks

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The first suggestion for the study of this problem came several years ago, when the writer undertook the responsibilities of a high school principalship in this state; in fact, one of the considerations of his engagement being that he teach two classes per day in the then-just-beginning course in the Problems of American Democracy. He found upon his arrival that for several years the work in social science had partly consisted of three divisions of American History and Civics, each required<sup>1</sup> for one semester by all juniors, and two divisions of Sociology and Economics, the former being offered as an elective in the first semester of each senior year, and the latter as an elective in the second semester. All of these subjects had been taught by the same teacher.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the requirements already set forth, the courses mentioned were offered to juniors and seniors promiscuously, and even sophomores were allowed to take either or all of these studies when there seemed to be no other way of filling out their program of studies.

A peculiar situation seemed to have arisen because of this arrangement in the curriculum. All of the students as juniors were required to take American History and Civics; most all of them elected both Sociology and Economics either in the junior or senior years, and some in both; and the same teacher taught all four subjects. It was discovered

that the teacher for these subjects almost always used the same methods and procedure in each class in all four subjects. When American History was taught, the few outside references<sup>3</sup> used, when they were used, were mostly texts in Civics, Economics, and Sociology. In the second semester, when Civics was on the program, the former reference became a text, and the former text became a reference. The same repetition occurred during the teaching of Economics and Sociology. Another factor tending to aggravate the situation was the fact that students almost invariably elected these last two subjects as juniors, rather than waiting until they became seniors. Add to this the typical small high school teacher, with little intensive and extensive preparation for the many subjects he teaches,<sup>4</sup> and we have the picture at once. Much material in the social sciences was discussed as many as four different times<sup>5</sup> in the same manner and by the same method during the last two years of the student's school life. Thus, in the topic, say, of immigration, there was a rehash of the same parts of the various factors of immigration three different times after the initial discussion during the American History course—four times in all.

Such were the conditions as the writer found them, most of which were remedied by the introduction of the unified course in social science in the senior year, then called Problems of American Democracy, and



TABLE SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN SPACE DEVOTED TO SUBJECT MATERIAL IN 41 SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXTBOOKS  
(Equated Pages)

TOPIC	RANGE IN NUMBER OF PAGES				TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES				AVERAGE NUMBER OF PAGES				RANGE IN PERCENTAGE OF SPACE				AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF SPACE			
	Civics	Problems	Economics	Sociology	Civics	Problems	Economics	Sociology	Civics	Problems	Economics	Sociology	Civics	Problems	Economics	Sociology	Civics	Problems	Economics	Sociology
Communication and Transportation.....	0-15.7	0-36.7	0-15.7	0	87.5	100.1	52.2	0	5.8	10.0	4.4	0	0-5%	0-10%	0-4%	0	2.0	3.0	1.4	0
The Community.....	0-39.1	0-31.6	0-1.5	0-18.0	112.6	98.7	1.5	34.5	7.6	9.9	.1	8.9	0-16%	0-7%	0-1%	0-6%	2.6	2.4	.08	3.2
Exchange.....	2.1-23.7	0-58.7	21.0-132.2	0	152.6	158.3	805.5	0	10.2	13.8	67.1	0	7-7%	0-13%	8-48%	0	3.3	3.8	23.0	0
The Family.....	0-12.5	0-31.9	0	14.0-70.0	36.9	113.0	0	130.5	2.5	11.3	0	32.6	0-5%	0-13%	0	6-24%	.9	3.6	0	12.2
Foreign Relations Including the Tariff.....	5.6-85.9	2.6-41.7	0-25.6	0-.5	292.7	186.4	130	.5	19.6	18.6	10.8	.1	2-16%	5-10%	0-7%	0-3%	5.6	5.3	3.6	.08
Origins and Beginnings of State and Government.....	0-44.3	4.9-43.4	0-9.5	0-22.6	203.0	220.3	18.4	35.8	13.3	22.0	1.5	9.0	0-16%	2-11%	0-3%	0-13%	4.5	7.7	.4	4.5
History Development of U. S. Government and General Features.....	33.6-107.7	1.2-74.9	0-29.3	0-7.3	1052.1	378.0	197.3	10.4	70.1	37.8	16.4	2.6	13-28%	4-22%	0-11%	0-4%	23.1	8.7	5.6	1.3
National Government.....	19.0-115.1	0-40.9	0	0	983.1	110.0	0	0	65.5	11.0	0	0	7-43%	0-12%	0	0	22.7	2.8	0	0
State Government.....	1.3-54.0	0-19.1	0	0	204.7	40.1	0	0	13.7	4.0	0	0	4-14%	0-5%	0	0	4.4	1.0	0	0
County Government.....	2.4-25.6	0-12.0	0	0	160.9	20.2	0	0	10.7	2.0	0	0	6-6%	0-3%	0	0	3.3	.5	0	0
City Government.....	4.5-21.2	0-20.3	0	0	172.6	53.2	0	0	11.5	5.3	0	0	2-7%	0-4%	0	0	3.9	1.0	0	0
The Individual Including Consumption.....	0-38.3	8.0-67.0	0-24.8	0-46.7	192.5	222.2	106.5	72.8	12.8	22.2	8.9	18.8	0-13%	1-41%	0-6%	0-28%	4.6	3.1	9.8	11.3
Labor Including Wealth.....	0-38.7	0-69.8	16.8-120.0	11.9-79.1	128.1	386.7	902.4	132.1	8.5	39.7	75.2	33.0	0-14%	0-20%	5-36%	2-27%	2.8	11.2	25.9	12.8
Population.....	0-14.9	8.6-32.4	0-12.1	1.2-74.6	62.7	199.0	38.1	161.0	4.2	20.0	3.2	40.3	0-3%	3-10%	0-4%	7-25%	1.1	6.4	1.2	13.2
Protection—Accidents.....	0-3.3	0-11.7	0	0-13.6	16.2	25.5	0	18.0	1.1	2.6	0	4.5	0-7%	0-4%	0	0-5%	.4	.8	0	1.8
Protection—Crime.....	0-17.7	9.8-28.3	0	2.3-21.5	162.8	172.6	0	67.1	10.9	17.3	0	16.8	0-7%	2-7%	0	1-9%	3.5	5.3	0	6.0
Protection—Fire.....	0-3.0	0	0	0	9.7	0	0	0	.6	0	0	0	0-4%	0	0	0	.3	0	0	0
Protection—Handicapped.....	0-9.8	0-40.7	0	0-46.4	55.7	110.4	0	101.6	3.7	11.0	0	25.4	0-3%	0-16%	0	0-16%	1.1	3.4	0	9.0
Protection—Health.....	0-20.4	0-20.0	0	0-36.8	119.2	75.1	0	64.0	7.3	7.5	0	16.0	0-7%	0-8%	0	0-12%	2.6	2.0	0	6.0
Religion and the Church.....	0-2.4	0-14.6	0	0-17.4	4.5	44.0	0	30.5	.3	4.4	0	7.6	0-8%	0-5%	0	0-10%	.1	0	38.0	1.4
Production.....	0-46.8	0-130.0	61.5-285.7	0-50.5	202.6	383.7	1168.1	78.8	13.5	38.4	97.3	19.6	0-9%	0-27%	20-79%	3-7%	4.3	10.3	32.8	7.5
School and Education.....	0-20.8	0-28.7	0-5.1	0-14.5	119.2	98.0	5.1	48.3	7.9	9.8	.4	12.8	0-6%	0-9%	0-2%	0-7%	2.5	3.1	.2	4.3
The Future.....																				
Miscellaneous.....																				

The items and topics included under these heads are of very minor importance, and the figures are insignificant, and are, therefore, not included in this table.

by offering a complete year of American History in the junior year. The story of how the experiment was worked out, modeled, and remodeled, cannot be told here,<sup>6</sup> but the idea came to the writer during this time that the overlapping of content material and methods of this small high school might be typical of other high schools, and that some practical contribution might be made to the teaching of the social studies by an intensive study of this very problem. Consequently, the study<sup>7</sup> was begun and has been recently finished. In this study the writer has attempted to show that there is overlapping of content material in senior high school social science textbooks, and in this article he will attempt to give a concise, and, at the same time, understandable, story of the same.

The activity of the writer in doing his research work took the form of making a detailed topical examination of 41 textbooks in the senior high school social sciences, 15 in Civics, 12 in Economics, 4 in Sociology, and 10 in the so-called Problems of Democracy courses. The method used in discovering the content material in these textbooks was that of determining the number of pages (or parts of pages), and, later, the percentage of pages devoted to each social science topic in each textbook. Previously to the examination of the textbooks the writer determined upon an outline, which, with its groups, topics, and subtopics, included all possible social science material, and under which all of the subject-material in the textbooks could be classified. The group headings of this outline are as follows:

1. Communication and Transportation.
2. The Community.
3. Exchange.
4. The Family.
5. Foreign Relations, Including the Tariff.
6. Origins and Beginnings of State and Government.
7. Historical Development of United States Government and General Features.
8. National Government.
9. State Government.
10. County Government.
11. City Government.
12. The Individual, Including Consumption.
13. Labor, Including Wealth.
14. Population.
15. Protection: Accidents.
16. Protection: Crime.
17. Protection: Fire.
18. Protection: Handicapped.
19. Protection: Health.
20. Religion and the Church.
21. Production.
22. School and Education.
23. The Future.
24. Miscellaneous.

Keep in mind that under these group headings were classified a large number of topics and subtopics very minute in their detail.<sup>8</sup> This outline is the one that the writer had used for several years as teacher in the unified social science course, and was

arrived at after much study of practically all of the social science textbooks then published. It had the additional value of being tempered and improved by the actual teaching of that material in senior high school classes. It must be understood, of course, that this outline represents what may be called the writer's "philosophy of the social studies," and in classifying his material he placed the topics discussed in each of the texts in that part of the outline to which, according to his judgment, the topics seemed to fit. Such detailed and minute divisions of the subject-material were made in the beginning simply to insure "pigeon holes" in which to place all of the subject-material found in the texts. After all of the texts had been examined and the research completed, all of the items, with their page amounts, were consolidated under the proper group headings, and these are the figures that will be used in the present discussion.

To insure accuracy, and, at the same time, to have a scientific scale with which to compare page material, the following method of determining page space was used. The actual number of pages of subject-material in each book was first measured by a scale representing the size of the page in that book. In addition, the average number of words per page for each text was also determined, after which the average for each book was equated to the average of the standard book,<sup>9</sup> which gave a proportionate basis of comparison of the amounts of space covered by the various topics in each of the texts. Allowance was made for small pictures, maps, tables, etc., on a page, and these were not counted in the page reckoning. Separate entries were also made for topics and questions and reading references at the end of each chapter, for insert illustrations, full-page pictures, and diagrams. Even the blank spaces at the beginning and end of each chapter were not included in the measurement. It is to be understood, therefore, that the number of pages indicated for each text is the actual net amount of space covered by the social science subject-material.

The best way to substantiate the argument advanced by the title and thesis of this article is to put before the reader a table showing the actual amount of content material in the textbooks examined. Even though the reader may feel somewhat reluctant to read over statistics as set forth by lengthy tables, he will find material enough in this table to repay whatever study he puts upon it. The table itself is really a consolidated table, in that it brings together all of the detail of the original "working sheet" table which is included in the original study, and which covers eighteen letter-size pages, placed side by side and pasted together. The table used here simply aims to show, for the large subdivisions of the field, the following: (1) range in the number of pages among the texts; (2) total number of pages for each topic for all of the texts; (3) average number of pages for each topic for each type of text; (4) range in percentage of space devoted to each topic in each text; and (5) the average percentage of space devoted to each topic in each type of text.

This table, therefore, indicates the space allotment in the textbooks for each and every topic in the outline used by the writer in making this study. It "spreads" before the reader the actual contents of the texts, and should at least satisfy him that there is sufficient reason for the study. It will be noted that figures for almost every topic are spread throughout all of the textbooks, the only noticeable "open spots" being in the Economics texts for the topics of the Family, Foreign Relations, Historical Development of the United States Government, National, State, County, and City Government, and Protection. This general "spread" is in itself important in that it indicates that social science textbooks of all types are attempting to cover the entire social science field. To study in each of the various types of texts means, therefore, that the student will meet material and topics several times as he takes the various subjects in the social sciences as they are spread throughout the senior high school curriculum. However, let the writer bring to the reader's attention each topic in order, and let him show just the exact situation before any conclusions are attempted. As each topic is discussed, it will be well for the reader to refer back to the table.

#### COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

Speaking in terms of the average there is very little difference in page material and percentage of space covered, for this topic in each of the groups of textbooks, sociology, of course, excepted, where there was no material of this type. The average number of pages and the average per cent. of space devoted to this topic in the Civics and Economics texts is significantly close. It is probably coincident that greatest amount of space devoted to this topic in these two types of texts is the same; namely, 15.7. Six Economics texts devote no space whatever to this topic, which is not so surprising. The surprising fact is that six Economics texts do, and that these six show practically the figures as the average of the twelve Civics texts.

The similarity of distribution in the Civics and Problems texts is plainly evident, and needs no further comment. The Problems texts do show a higher percentage than do the Civics, but this is due to the fact that the text with the maximum number of pages is way high. The remainder of the Problems texts show very little difference compared with the Civics.

Sociology with no representation at all in this topic has no chance to show any similarity of subject-material, but, as far as the other three social sciences are concerned, there is surely danger of repeating subject-material if more than one of these courses is taken by any group of senior high school students.

#### THE COMMUNITY

In this topic the Economics texts can be eliminated from the discussion at once, because the amount of subject-material in the one text devoting space to this topic is too insignificant for consideration.

It is in the other three types of texts that the averages show a striking similarity, viz.:

	Average No. Pages	Average Percentage
Civics .....	7.6	2.6
Sociology .....	8.9	3.2
Problems .....	9.9	2.4

The average space in two of the Sociology texts is practically the same as the averages shown in the Civics and Problems texts. Attention is again called to the striking similarity between the Civics and Problems texts.

#### EXCHANGE

In a topic such as Exchange one expects to find Economics texts devoting most of their space and Sociology texts the least—in this topic the last named none at all. The surprising discovery here is that the maximum number of pages among the Civics texts, 23.7, is practically the same as the minimum for the Economics texts, and that the maximum for the Problems texts, 58.7, much exceeds the Economics minimum, and is, in fact, greater than six of the last-named texts. Stating the proposition in terms of per cents., three Civics texts devote 5 per cent., 6 per cent., and 7 per cent., respectively, and two Problems texts devote 10 per cent. and 13 per cent., respectively; whereas, six of the Economics texts devote less than 20 per cent. of their space allotment to this topic. The average per cent. devoted to Exchange in the Problems texts, 15.8 per cent., is greater than the average per cent. of the six Economics texts, which devote the smallest amount of space of the twelve to this topic; namely, 12.6 per cent. The facts shown here clearly indicate that Civics and Problems textbooks are attempting to cover subject-material which is much the same as that already covered in Economics texts. The election of either of these two subjects in addition to the electing of Economics means that a student will cover the same ground, as far as Exchange is concerned, which means that there will occur the repetition and overlapping of subject-material. Attention is again called to the striking similarity between the figures showing space allotment for this topic in the Civics and Problems texts.

#### THE FAMILY

The Family is, strictly speaking, a topic whose foundation roots probably are in Sociology, and one therefore expects to find Sociology textbooks devoting more space to it than any of the other texts, and Economics the least. The "encroachment" of Civics texts upon this topic is not as great as was in the case of Exchange; in fact, almost 50 per cent. of the books of this type devote no space at all to it. The course in Problems, however, devotes as much, if not more, space, if we consider the material page by page, viz.:

Problems .....	6.2	9.1	10.0	13.5	19.0	23.3	31.9
Sociology .....				14.0	16.2	29.4	70.9

A student taking the Problems course, and using one of the texts indicated, would probably not only cover the same material that he did in taking the Sociology course, but he would also study a great



deal more than was originally included in the Sociology text.

The Family, however, does not show as much tendency to provide similar material among the groups of texts as the first three topics already studied. Here, also, is the first example of the Civics and Problems texts not covering the same material; at least, the similarity of content-material is not so evident in this topic as it has been in the previous ones.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS, INCLUDING THE TARIFF

The Sociology figures for this topic are very few, and, hence, not so very significant for this study. The figures for Economics show page-material which deals principally with the tariff, and will overlap with the other texts in this topic only as they deal with that subtopic. Civics and Problems again show a similarity in their allotment of space for this topic.

#### ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

The Economics factor in this topic is again not so great, but, again, we find that Civics and Problems courses give food for consideration. Strictly speaking, it may be said that this topic is of Sociology in that we go to Sociology to survey the origins of these institutions. We find, however, that both Civics and Problems texts devote greater amounts of space in the average, and, in many cases, in individual books, to this topic. The Problems texts, especially, seem to emphasize this topic, as the entire total of 220.3 pages seems to indicate. Civics texts devote enough space to the topic, however, and, again, show similarity of subject-material between these two types of textbooks. The case of the Problems situation is an example of how this unified course attempts to branch out into the other social sciences, as it makes itself the so-called general course. We have already seen this tendency in the few topics that have already been analyzed.

#### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL FEATURES

When one gets into the realm of Government he gets into the so-called Civics topic, and this accounts for the enormous total of 1052.1 for this topic, which deals principally with historical development and general features. The content for the Economics texts consists chiefly of material dealing with taxation problems, one of the subtopics under general features. The content-material for the Sociology texts is also small, but the fact that both of these types of texts devote some space to this topic is significant enough for the purposes of this study. Problems and Civics texts still continue to indicate that the content-material in their pages takes on a similar nature. The average per cent. figure in this case does not seem to be of close relationship, but it will be noted that the average for the total number of pages in the ten Problems books is a little over half of the average for the fifteen Civics books. This is of importance, when it will be remembered that the Problems texts cover the entire field of the social sciences in a general way, while the Civics texts simply devote

their content to the problem of government alone. With Problems texts devoting as much space as they do to governmental problems, and Civics texts presumably devoting a great majority of their space to the same problems, there is certain to be repetition of subject-material when students take both of these subjects.

#### NATIONAL, STATE, COUNTRY, AND CITY GOVERNMENTS

These topics are again covered extensively in the Civics texts, with Economics and Sociology texts having no page-material whatsoever. The Problems texts are represented somewhat, although a few of this type of text omit mention of these topics. However, the fact still remains that these texts do attempt to discuss these topics in some form, brief though this discussion may be, compared to the lengthy discussion in the Civics texts, and this brief discussion itself will be repetition which will provide overlapping.

#### THE INDIVIDUAL, INCLUDING CONSUMPTION

The distribution of the figures for this topic show a close relationship between the textbooks in Sociology and Problems, and again between those of Civics and Economics. The subject-material of the Economics texts deals mainly with the problems of consumption, but so do the others to a less degree, thereby making a case for considerable overlapping as far as this subtopic is concerned. The page-material in the Problems texts is considerably greater than in the other three types of books, probably because the topic is one that deals with the problems which are close to the lives of the students. This brings up again that which is supposedly the main function of the course; namely, to discuss for the senior high school student those problems of the general social science field which are related to his everyday life.

#### LABOR, INCLUDING WEALTH

This topic is another one of those which mainly belongs to Economics, as the figures well indicate. Here, again, as in Exchange, it will be noted that the content-material in the other types of texts tends to include the same sort of subject-matter. The average for the Sociology and Problems texts is about one-half that of the average for Economics. The figures for Civics are somewhat lower, but, even so, eleven of these textbooks do discuss the topic in one phase or another, one of them devoting as many as 38.7 pages to it, a figure almost as great as four of the Economics texts, and greater than one of them. All of the Sociology texts and all but one of the Problems books allot considerable space to the topic.

#### POPULATION

The figures indicate that in the main Population is a Sociology topic. The figures for both Civics and Problems are small, but it is again significant that they indicate a similarity in the amount of space covered for the topic. Only three of the fifteen Civics books and five of the twelve Economics books fail to discuss the topic at all, indicating that such discussion is somewhat general in these two types of texts. The figures for the Problems textbooks again indi-

cate that this course tries to include topics from all of the social sciences, for here these texts in this general social science field devote one-half as much space as does Sociology, one of whose purposes is to develop the theme of this very topic. These two courses offered in the same school would surely give material of a similar nature, as would Civics and Economics on a somewhat smaller scale.

#### PROTECTION: ACCIDENTS, CRIME, FIRE, HANDICAPPED, HEALTH

Economics texts do not touch the topic of Protection at all in any of its phases, and no group of these books, with the exception of Civics, and that very little, gives any space to Fire Protection. Sociology texts devote only an average of 1.8 per cent. of their space to Protection from Accidents, but Civics and Problems closely follow with .4 per cent. and .8 per cent., respectively. The average percentage of space devoted to the topic Protection from Crime varies but little, being 3.5 per cent., 5.3 per cent., and 6 per cent., respectively, for Civics, Problems, and Sociology texts. The Problems texts closely approximate the Sociology texts in the amount of space allotment, another bit of evidence showing that this general course includes topics of a sociological nature in almost the same amount as the Sociology texts themselves. The space allotment for the Protection of the Handicapped shows a similar tendency in a somewhat smaller degree. The average per cent. of space devoted to this topic in the Civics and Problems texts is again significantly close. The same deduction holds true for the topic of Protection of Health. The approximately close alignment of the figures for the space allotment in these topics for the three groups of Civics, Sociology, and Problems texts shows that the subject-material is very markedly similar in all three groups. Taking the entire topic of Protection under consideration, there is indication clearly enough that Civics, Sociology, and Problems textbooks tend to discuss the same topic material.

#### RELIGION AND THE CHURCH

The amount of space devoted to this topic in the Civics texts is too small for any comparison, and the Economics texts devote no space at all. The average for the Problems books again shows that this type of text covers the same ground as does Sociology.

#### PRODUCTION

There is no doubt that Production is primarily an Economics problem. The average allotment of space in the twelve books examined is 32.8 per cent., although one text devoted 79 per cent. of its entire contents to this topic. The figures for the Problems texts again show the trend that they have shown in almost every topic analyzed in this study; namely, that this type of text covers the same ground as all of the other three cover. The average for both Civics and Sociology is high enough to indicate that they, too, are attempting to cover material in this field. The evidence of overlapping for this topic may not be as outstanding as that in some of the other topics, but it is there, nevertheless.

#### SCHOOL AND EDUCATION

Again Economics texts figures are insignificant, in that only one text spends any time upon the problem, and that only 5.1 pages. The figures of the other texts are again indicative of similarity in the amount of content, sufficient evidence that these three types of texts are again attempting to cover subject-material of a similar nature.

#### THE STUDENT AND THE TEACHER IN SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES

Before drawing any conclusions, two other factors can be very easily brought into the discussion; namely, the student and the teacher. Granted that most of these facts brought out in this article are true, the reader may say yet what are the actual conditions in the schools? Do senior high school students actually take social science courses in any of the combinations that have been presupposed here, and do they use the texts listed in this study—texts that do show that they overlap in subject-material to some extent? The blank of inquiry mentioned in an earlier paragraph asked several questions, whose replies will answer the problem as stated here. Teachers were asked to list the social science courses taught in their school, and to indicate the texts used. They were asked to state approximately the number of students, taking the listed courses, who would in all probability take the other social science courses offered by the school. The facts as brought out in the original study<sup>10</sup> show that there is a high percentage of students who take all of the social science offerings in the various senior high schools, which is not surprising, because many schools teach all of the social sciences. In a few cases there were courses in Civics, Economics, and Sociology, and in addition a full year of Problems of Democracy, and the answers indicated that some students were taking all four courses. The original study also takes several of the actual combinations in schools that were using the texts that had been examined, and shows the exact extent of the overlapping as shown by the content-material of the textbooks. This comparison simply brought out more clearly and emphatically the points made already in this article.

There remains the other factor; namely, the social science teacher. What is her contribution to the problem of overlapping? The writer already had at hand a study which purported to show that senior high school social science teachers are poorly prepared for the subjects that they teach. Hutson has found among other facts the following:<sup>11</sup>

(1) "Few social science teachers have specialized so highly in a single branch of the social studies as to preclude the possibility of adequate preparation in the other branches."

(2) "The teachers of any particular social study are evidently not chosen on the basis of special preparation in that branch of the general field."

(3) "Prospective teachers are allowed frequently to major in any of the four social sciences without reference to the others. At the same time, the teacher must be prepared to teach several subjects."

Several questions in the blank of inquiry used by the writer asked for information as to procedures used by the teacher in her actual teaching. The following conclusions are taken from Chapter V, already mentioned:

1. Most social science teachers follow the text religiously. Very few assign topics in addition to those discussed in the text, and still fewer omit any of the topics discussed in the text.

2. Only one-half of the teachers actually require outside readings.

3. Very few social science teachers seem to use newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, or original mimeographed materials.

This study of the writer's, going at the matter from a different angle than that of Hutson's, nevertheless arrives at the same place that he did. Many of our social science teachers are poorly prepared to teach the social sciences that they are trying to teach. This means that the teacher must rely a great deal, if not entirely, upon the textbook. The textbook, therefore, becomes the course of study. The writer has shown how subject-material in social science textbooks does overlap, and how senior high school students do take a variety of the social sciences offered. Now the teacher steps into the picture to do her bit toward the constant increase of overlapping. Picture, if you please, the teacher, in most small high schools, at least, religiously following the textbook outlines as he reaches each of the social sciences in turn. Picture, also, the inadequate library, where the reference books are not many, and where most of the books that are there are discarded texts and sample copies left there by his predecessor, because he did not have room in his trunk to carry them with him. Is it any wonder that the high school student has to hear the same rendition of material that he has heard before, and heard as many times as he has taken a social science subject? And remember that this study has simply dealt with overlapping and repetition among the social sciences. Think of further repeating that comes in from taking the histories that ever-so-now-and-then discuss these topics from a supposedly historical viewpoint.

With all of these points in mind we are now ready to list briefly the conclusions reached by the writer.

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. Content- and subject-material of social science textbooks do overlap, in a greater or less degree, depending upon the topic. This fact has been amply demonstrated by the figures produced in this article.

2. The combination that shows the least amount of overlapping is that of Economics and Sociology. These two courses alone offer the least opportunity for the repetition of subject-material. However, as soon as any other of the social science courses are added to these two, the factor of overlapping is at once present.

3. Each type of textbook has what may be called its "high spots"; that is, texts in Civics devote most of their space to Government, Economics to Labor,

Exchange and Production, and Sociology to the Family, Population, and Protection. The Problems texts do not have any of these so-called high spots, which is but natural when we consider their announced aim to combine all.

4. This truth regarding the "high spots" in each text is just as it should be, but the important and significant thing to keep in mind is that, no matter where or what these high spots may be, the other types of texts devote a part of their content-material to a discussion of this very topic. The fact that the other type of text does discuss the topic in some way is the point to be remembered.

5. Civics and Problems texts, especially, devote a considerable amount of space to topics that are usually discussed in either Economics and Sociology texts, or both.

6. There is a marked similarity between the content-material of the Civics and Problems textbooks, as shown by the average per cent. of space that these two types of books devote to each topic. The inference drawn from a study of the figures is that Problems texts are merely enlarged Civics texts, because seemingly Problems texts discuss the same topics as do Civics texts, simply devoting a little more space to each topic.

7. The figures for the textbooks in Problems clearly indicate that these texts are doing what they say they are supposed to do; namely, to cover the entire social science field in a general way.

8. Students in the senior high school practically have unlimited opportunity to elect more than one subject in the social sciences. At the same time, there is some indication that social science teachers are not properly prepared for their work and are not making a good job of it.

9. Social science texts with overlapping material, plus promiscuous election of social science courses at the hands of senior high school students, plus poorly prepared and improperly teaching teachers, equals a sum which is clearly indicative of a lack of economy of time in the teaching of the social sciences.

10. The fact that some texts devote little or no space to a few of the topics does not destroy the value of this study in its attempt to show that there is overlapping of subject-material between the types of social science textbooks. The fact that the tables and figures do show that there is overlapping in most of the topics has established the worth of the original investigation.

It would seem, therefore, that some provision making for the economy of time in the teaching of the social studies should be included in the program for reform. Notwithstanding the fact that repetition of subject-material is in itself not harmful, and that the larger schools, with an abundance and variety of teachers, can afford to make provision for several social science subjects, the logical procedure should be to eliminate all but one of the social science subjects (and remember that history is not included here), and make that one a unified or consolidated course in the social sciences. Such a course is al-



ready recognized by many state courses of study, and is being taught in many schools, but there are still too many cases of smaller schools offering the variety. The unified course must be offered in the interests of the economy of time in the curriculum and leave a space for other subject-matter.

The procedure as outlined is but a step in a process that is already going on. Authorities in psychology inform us that the mind of the student of adolescent age is such that he is unable to grasp highly organized subject-matter. If this be true, the proper step in the social sciences should be to drop out of the curriculum the highly organized courses of Sociology and Economics, because these courses do contain much material that is highly organized and abstract, and, consequently, beyond the grasp of the senior high school student. Further than that, too, why have a student who is not going beyond high school take such a highly organized subject of no real practical value to him? If he is going to college he can soon get lost in the intricacies of an Economics or Sociology course. If he does not go to college, why bother him with those intricacies? The proper step will be, then, to introduce a course which will present social science material to the student in the terms of the experiences he has already had, or probably will have, in the social world about him. Such would be the purpose of the new course in Social Science.

Teachers of the social sciences have already recognized that fact in theory, at least. There is the National Council for the Social Studies, one organization for all of the teachers of the social sciences. The official organ of this group, *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, aims to cater to the needs of all of them. The Commission of the Reorganization of the Social Secondary Education of the National Education Association has but one committee to plan and organize the work of the social studies in the secondary school curriculum. The way is open, therefore, for a condition of affairs where there would be only one course in the social sciences offered to senior high school students. It is understood, of course, that courses in history will be offered in addition to the unified course planned.

And, finally, as the writer sees the problem, another investigation can go forward from where this one has ended, which would aim to study, among other things, the following problems:

(1) A still more detailed analysis of textbook material, taking detailed subtopics for comparison, in addition to the main topics already listed.

(2) An analysis of subject-matter that teachers actually teach from term to term. This could be secured by studying both term and semester reports secured from representative schools.

(3) An analysis of social science courses and combination of courses actually taken by senior high

school students in representative schools throughout the country.

(4) An analysis of the actual teaching practices of the teachers of the social sciences.

It is the opinion of the writer that a study of this nature would substantiate the findings already brought to light in this investigation. It would in addition go one step further by making a scientific and objective examination of a greater amount of material than that touched upon in the present study. The results of the two studies taken together would provide data, which could be used by social scientists and school administrators in framing future courses of action in the social sciences in the secondary fields, and, as such, would prove very valuable.

<sup>1</sup>"Minnesota Standards for High and Grade Schools," p. 15, Rule 14: "No school board may under any conditions issue a high school diploma to any person who has not been certified by the superintendent as having completed in a credible manner the work covered by sixteen credits in a well-balanced course; and such credits must always include four unit credits in English and one credit in Citizenship." In Minnesota the work in Citizenship is satisfied by courses in American History and Civics, each offered for one semester.

<sup>2</sup>The school day was seven periods in length. Each teacher taught five classes.

<sup>3</sup>The library was a typical small high school library—not many books of references or source materials. Practically the only books available in any number were these texts.

<sup>4</sup>For corroboration of this statement, see P. W. Hutson, "Teachers of Social Science: Their Training and the Subjects They Teach," in the *Journal of Educational Research*, 9: 93-108, February, 1924.

<sup>5</sup>The writer does not take the viewpoint that the discussion of these topics four different times is in itself a weakness and should not be encouraged, especially in the larger high schools. It is the unsystematized and conflicting overlapping taking place, especially in smaller high schools, in such a situation as outlined that is criticized.

<sup>6</sup>For a written account of this experiment by the writer, see "One Method of Teaching Problems of American Democracy," in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, 16: 13-18, January, 1925.

<sup>7</sup>Dahl, Edwin J., "An Analysis of Senior High School Texts in the Social Studies Other Than History." Master's Thesis, Bureau of Research, College of Education, University of Minnesota, 1926.

<sup>8</sup>The complete outline covers six typewritten letter-size pages. Its completeness is evident when mention is made of the fact that not once during the textbook examination was the writer forced to add a new topic. His outline had a place for all of the subject-matter encountered.

<sup>9</sup>In connection with this study, the writer sent out a blank of inquiry to several hundred social science teachers in an attempt to discover "current practices in the teaching of the social sciences." One question asked was the name of the text used. The one used the most was called the "standard text."

<sup>10</sup>Chapter V of the original study, "Current Practices in the Teaching of the Social Sciences," discusses this in detail.

<sup>11</sup>Hutson, P. W., "The Specialized Preparation of High School Teachers for the Subjects They Teach." Doctor's Thesis, Bureau of Research, College of Education, University of Minnesota, 1925.

# Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES  
W. G. Kimmel, Chairman

The National Council for the Social Studies will hold morning and afternoon sessions in Boston on Saturday, February 25th, in connection with the meetings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association and the numerous other professional organizations convening at that time. The National Council will hold its sessions in the Assembly Hall of The College of Practical Arts and Letters of Boston University, situated at the corner of St. Botolph and Garrison Streets, a short distance from Copley Square.

The general theme for the day's program will be the possible contribution of the social studies to education for a more intelligent understanding of international relations and world politics. The morning program will be devoted more particularly to a realistic discussion of some of the fundamental factors of international relations, such as economic interdependence and problems of imperialism, nationalism, and international organization. An effort has been made to prepare a co-ordinated program, and the speakers have been requested to avoid propaganda for particular policies and devices, such as pacifism or large armaments or the League of Nations. The afternoon session will be devoted in similar spirit to considering as concretely as possible the educational problems involved. The list of speakers will include Dr. William F. Russell, Dean of Teachers' College, Columbia University, and Prof. J. Russell Smith, Professor of Geography in the School of Business, Columbia University, James G. McDonald, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Foreign Policy Association, and Prof. Richard H. Shryock, of Duke University.

The "Report of the Committee on the Training of High School Teachers of the Social Studies, submitted to the National Council for the Social Studies, February, 1927," has been published in the October number of *Educational Administration and Supervision*. The personnel of the committee is: Richard H. Shryock, chairman; J. Lynn Barnard, Julie Koch, Frances Morehouse, and Kathryn Shumway. Following the statement of the aim of formal training; namely, "to prepare the student for a relatively rapid realization of the best teaching which his potential ability makes possible," the committee stresses the need of four years of preparation of collegiate grade to be offered preferably in a teachers' college or school of education in a university. Definite reasons are given for the recommendation that the first two years be devoted to academic subjects and the last two to professional training. Such training should warrant appointments over graduates without directed training; the committee is opposed to "blanket certificates," but the necessity for preparation to teach two subjects is recognized, and certain modifications in the proposed curriculum are suggested to meet this need.

In introducing the proposed curriculum, the committee presents the following statement:

"The training of the teachers should involve the following more or less distinct processes: (1) general academic training; (2) orientation in the content of the courses which are later to be taught; (3) professional work in general educational subjects; (4) training in the special methods of teaching the social studies; (5) observation and practice teaching; and (6) advanced work in any or all phases of teaching these subjects, to be undertaken by teachers after they have had several years of teaching experience."

The time allotments, in semester hours, for the general proposals outlined in the foregoing statement are: general academic courses, 57; social studies academic courses, 30; professionalized work in courses to be taught, 9; general educational courses, 12; special methods, 6; observation and practice teaching, 6.

The curriculum for the first year includes foreign language, English, history, government, biology, physiology, and personal hygiene (total of 33 semester hours); the second year includes history, English, foreign language, general psychology, educational psychology and psychology of adolescence, history of education, public speaking (total of 30 semester hours); the work for the third year covers sociology, educational sociology, economics, secondary school, special methods, observation, electives (total of 30 semester hours); the fourth year includes history of philosophy or history of art, professionalized content in history, professionalized content in "civics," practice-teaching, electives (total of 27 semester hours, 9 of which are elective).

The committee stresses the need for academic courses in history, sociology, economics, and government to be offered by the respective departments. The professionalized courses are designed to acquaint prospective teachers with the content of high school courses, and the selection, organization, and integration of such content in such a manner as to afford purposeful training. A special methods courses, covering the entire range of the teaching of the social studies, is recommended, but the suggestion is made that the time allotment may be divided and special methods courses in both history and civics be offered. The difficulties encountered in obtaining instructors who possess suitable qualifications to offer the professionalized content and special methods courses are recognized, and suggestions are given by the committee.

Space permits only a brief summary of the report. Persons concerned with teacher training will find it straightforward, stimulating, and definite in statement and recommendations. The proposals should afford definite guidance for the development of a sound and comprehensive program for the training of social studies teachers in a rapidly expanding field of instruction.

A survey of the status of the teachers of the social studies in Washington high schools is reported by Read Bain, in an article, "The Teaching of the Social Studies in Washington High Schools," in the December 10th number of *School and Society*. The data were obtained from 173 schedules submitted by teachers—64 per cent. of the teachers did not furnish replies to the questionnaire. In scholastic preparation, 75 per cent. of those who replied have an A.B. and 13.3 per cent. a B.S. degree; 16.8 per cent. hold a master's degree; 12.2 have completed some graduate work; 5 per cent. did not furnish any information concerning a degree. The field in which teachers majored is: history, 53.8 per cent.; education, 28.3 per cent.; English, 22.5 per cent.; economics, 12.1 per cent.; modern languages, 11 per cent. The amount of training in the subjects now being taught is small; the following percentages indicate 15 hours or less of preparation: world history, 23.8 per cent.; ancient, 51.2 per cent.; modern, 46.4 per cent.; American, 31.3 per cent.; civics, 49.2 per cent.; sociology, 55.3 per cent.; economics, 56.2 per cent. Adding those who have had no preparation in their subjects, those who fail to indicate any, and those who made ambiguous statements, the following percentages are derived: Ancient history, 38.5 per cent.; civics, 36.1 per cent.; world history, 35.8 per cent.; American history, 33 per cent.; modern history, 30.9 per cent.; sociology, 23.2 per cent.; economics, 12.3 per cent. The amount of preparation in American history and civics is small, although they are compulsory courses for all pupils.

About 50 per cent. of the history teachers have had special methods courses; about 25 per cent. of the civics teachers and about 14 per cent. of economics teachers. More than 70 per cent. of the teachers of economics, sociology, and world history are teaching their second year, while the percentage of civics teachers in their second year is 67 per cent., and for American history, 40 per cent. The non-professional reading done by the teachers, based on subscriptions, is higher than their professional reading. "Recitation from text" is the prevailing classroom procedure (80.2 per cent.), followed by "class reports" (64.4 per cent.), "current events" (50.7 per cent.), and so on. 87.4 per cent. of the teachers use written examinations, 56.3 per cent. use new-type tests, and 47.9 per cent. use oral examinations.

The teachers do not take an active part in the life of the community probably partly due to heavy responsibilities in extra-curriculum activities and heavy teaching schedules. 53.4 per cent. of the teachers co-operating felt that sociology, economics, and community civics should be required courses, but not all teachers agree with the statutory requirement of courses in American history and civics. Factors tending to limit the teaching of the social studies in Washington are listed by the following percentages of teachers: lack of library, 59 per cent.; inadequate teaching force, 25 per cent.; too many subjects, 21 per cent.; lack of interest by students, 18.4 per cent.; and so on.

While the author recognizes that the data are incomplete, he believes they represent a fair sample, and characterizes the situation as follows:

"They (teachers) are handicapped by lack of proper preparation, by an out-of-date course of study, by an overloaded curriculum, by the absence of any consensus as to what texts and methods should be used, by faulty co-operation on the part of school authorities and communities, by poor libraries and very little laboratory equipment, and probably by a more or less vague idea of what they are trying to do, and a still vaguer idea of how to go about doing what they think they are trying to do."

Another survey of the status of the social studies in Washington, from the standpoint of the program of studies, is found in Ward S. Bowman's study, entitled, *A Survey of the Social Sciences in the High Schools of the State of Washington* (Seattle, University of Washington, M. S. Thesis, 1927). The investigation includes data from two sources: a questionnaire, and the official reports made by high school principals to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. General findings include: (1) ancient history is being displaced by a course in ancient and medieval history or by a shorter course in world history; (2) gains in enrollment and in the offering of medieval and modern history during the last decade are now being displaced by increased emphasis on modern history; (3) the former plan of one course in ancient history followed by a course in medieval and modern history is now changing to a course in ancient and medieval history followed by a course in modern history; (4) world history has been adopted to a greater extent in the smaller high schools than in the larger ones, and in many of the high schools with an enrollment of less than 150 pupils it is the only history course other than United States history; (5) United States history is given a greater time allotment, and there is a tendency to place it in the third rather than the fourth year of the program; (6) English history is rapidly losing ground; (7) separate courses in economics and sociology predominate, and the course in modern Problems is seldom offered; (8) in high schools which require more than one course, the tendency to state the requirement in terms of years and to permit the pupils to choose any of the courses offered is found in about one-fourth of the schools; (9) high schools organized on the junior-senior plan tend to follow suggested programs for the reorganization of the social studies program more closely than the four-year high schools; (10) the high schools in Washington, due to rapid expansion and comparatively recent development, seem to look to other states older in experience to lead the way in the reorganization of the social studies program.

The October number of the *California Quarterly of Secondary Education* (2163 Center Street, Berkeley, California) includes "A Study of Supervisory Practice in the University High School, Oakland." Miss Edna H. Stone contributed the social studies section. There are four steps in the learning of a social studies unit, and only one step is usually developed during a class period: (1) "introducing the new unit"; (2) "searching for solution of the new unit"; (3) "classifying impressions, facts and ideas"; and (4) "making permanent and habitual the learning product." A detailed treatment of each step is presented through the description of concrete classroom situations. There is a statement of the characteristic features of each step, the exercise for the day and the class setting which bring out the characteristic features, the class organization for work, concrete statements of standards of attainment sought by pupils and teacher, and of the classroom procedure. Items of particular interest to social studies teachers include: the emphasis placed upon class organization of pupils, the humanizing and adapting of content materials to meet individual and class differences, definite character of the standards of attainment sought, the importance of activities of educational worth as an integral part of the learning process, the opportunities for arousing interest and stimulating the imagination of pupils. Supervisors and teacher-training instructors will find this article worth reading and analysis.

The same magazine contains a summary outline of units and problems in the new social-studies program for junior and senior high school in Long Beach, California. Features include: (1) specific statements of aims; (2) unitary organization; (3) problem-solving as a dominant method; (4) the long time allotment for units, e. g., one unit in Grade VIIA is allotted 18 weeks; (5) the first unit of Grade VIIB is called "Junior High School Orientation," developed in accordance with the cardinal principles of secondary education.

Frank C. Touton, in "Objectives for Social Clubs in Secondary Schools," in the same magazine, presents lists of objectives, phrased in accordance with the cardinal principles of secondary education, to be attained by a variety of different clubs. Lists for a travel club and for a social service club may be of particular interest to social studies teachers.

Several investigations in geography have been reported. Olive C. Fish, in the November number of *The Journal of Geography*, presents a part of her thesis for Doctorate, entitled, "The Aims and Content of Junior High School Geography." The data presented include the collation and classification of aims as set forth in a variety of sources, an analysis of geography textbooks, and an analysis of the questions included in textbooks. The classification of 518 aims shows that 63.5 per cent. have psychological implications, 34.6 per cent. are social in character, while 1.9 per cent. are classified as propaedeutic aims. The data also show that 35 per cent. of the aims can be fulfilled by memory largely through requiring recall for responses. An analysis of the subject-matter of six geography textbooks made by ascertaining the number of words devoted to each phase, showed the following averages: physical geography, 31.3 per cent.; human geography, 26.8 per cent.; economic geography, 41.9 per cent. An analysis of questions and exercises in textbooks and questions asked on examinations by Wisconsin teachers showed an average of only 3.5 per cent. of textbook questions and 2.9 per cent. of examinations involved real judgment. The writer suggests more emphasis for training in social attitudes and ideals through activities, more stress on problem-solving, less emphasis on memory questions and exercises, the replacement of older drill material by new-type tests, and human geography with economic implications as the phase of geography to be treated in the junior high school.

E. R. Edwards, in the same magazine, contributes an investigation, entitled, "A Summary Review of an Analytical Survey of Current Courses of Study in Elementary Geography." Eighty-five courses of study, 34 state courses,



47 city courses, 1 county course, and 3 from outlying possessions were examined on twenty items. All were published from 1919 to 1925, and included all parts of the country. Pertinent findings are: 15 courses include geography in grades one to seven, 18 courses present geography as distinct from nature study, while there are about fifteen other distributions of courses; geography study is started in the first grade in 32 courses, in the third grade in 26 courses, in the fourth grade in 15 courses, with about a dozen other times represented; 54 courses indicate the fourth grade for the introduction of a textbook, while 19 other courses suggest the third grade; 56 courses definitely provide textbooks to be followed; 50 courses include some work in problem-solving; 61 include the project idea, without any agreement on the definition of the term; 29 courses set up minimum standards of achievement; 49 set up aims or objectives; 58 courses give procedures, methods, and devices; 43 courses are organized in terms of units of work; 29 kinds of "correlation" of geography with other subjects are found; 58 distinct approaches to the study of geography are included in the 85 courses.

A second part of the study was devoted to a more intensive investigation of the content of 23 of the courses, selected on the basis of eight criteria. Some of the more important findings are: 15 of the 23 courses are the work of committees, one is the work of one person, and two were developed with the assistance of professional experts; most popular methods are: problem method, maps, globes, and charts, and topical method; fifteen different methods appear in the courses; of 19 most popular topics, only three—Africa, Climate, Occupations—appear in all courses, and there are 301 topics which occur in less than one-third of the courses; 21 courses list problems which can be classified under 12 headings; the number of projects ranges from 3 to 159 per course; 1,652 references for teachers and pupils are listed in the courses; only five courses are based on the development of attitudes, habits, and skills.

H. W. Fairbanks, in the same magazine, under the title, "Can the Educational Value of Real Geography in the Junior High School Be Replaced by Any Other Subject or Combination of Subjects?" maintains that geography is not a social science, that real geography "has to do only with those relations that are *earth conditioned*, and in the restricted sense in which it is handled in the elementary school, with the relation between *man* and his *environment*." The writer further maintains that "the real social sciences ...deal with man as a member of society"; that the unified social studies courses such as the Rugg plan do not provide sufficient time and point of view to develop adequately important geographic concepts; that geography has a definite goal and the introduction of materials from other subjects must be utilized with the sole aim of developing the geography concepts—not the teaching of the other subjects; that the movement to merge geography in a unified social studies course is likely to spread in the grammar school; that pupils will never gain a cultural and practical outlook if geography is merged, although an "understandable view of the world, using the work in its widest sense, is needed by the young citizen now as never before."

The selection of subject-matter to meet the objectives of the course of study, and the adapting of the subject-matter to meet the needs of the pupil, are difficult problems faced by all teachers of the social studies. Laurance F. Shaffer, in the December number of *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, reports "A Learning Experiment in the Social Studies," developed under the direction of Harold Rugg at the Lincoln School of Teachers' College. The purpose of the experiment was to evaluate the "episode" and "generalization" types of reading material as compared with the "textbook narrative" type, both individually and in different sequences and arrangements. Reading materials of the three types were written, checked against the lists

in Thorndike's *Teachers' Word Book* for difficulty in words, and also checked for sentence difficulty. Tests of the controlled completion type were devised; the reliability in tests was determined through the administration to 100 pupils not included in the experimental group. The reading materials were arranged in five different sequences, and each sequence was administered together with the tests to about 200 pupils from the sixth to the eighth grades, inclusive. A total of about 1,000 pupils in and about New York City participated in the experiment.

The chief results are: (1) there is little difference in the type of materials read or in the sequence in which the materials are read; (2) there seem to be other factors in learning which were constant for all groups tested, such as the motivation of the pupils through their interest in scores obtained on the tests, and the influence of practice or repetition in the materials read.

"These three positive implications concerning the psychology of learning in the social studies are not unlike the principles underlying learning in other fields that have been investigated.

"1. Learning will be most economical when in response to a problem situation felt by the pupil.

"2. The amount learned is, other things being equal, proportional to the number of repetitions, which for the achievement of the broader aims should be in varied settings.

"3. The materials of instruction should be similar in form and content to the actual objectives desired."

The writer presents many details of his procedure, examples of reading materials and test items, data on the reliability of the tests, detailed results, and learning curves. Teachers interested in the subject-matter problems in the social studies should read the article.

Despite many of the current "speech gestures" to the contrary, courses in civics are still too often merely facts to be memorized, ground to be covered, and names of officials to be learned, even though the subject-matter has been changed from a survey of the mechanical features of government to an exposition of the functions of governing bodies. Frank W. Mayo, in the November number of *American Education*, presents a statement of his activities toward the improvement of instruction in civics in the Shelton, Conn., High School, entitled, "The Supervision of Civics." The summary of activities includes:

"(a) Meetings with teachers to settle on aims and objectives.

"(b) Pre-teaching conferences on short units of work.

"(c) Helping to establish a working plan for the course.

"(d) Follow-up conferences on actual classroom visits.

"(e) Co-operation in motivating the work.

"(f) Testing the results."

The same magazine contains the final section of an article in the October number on "Measurements of History and Civics," by G. M. Wilson. The more important tests are briefly described. The material is one chapter of a forthcoming book.

A new type of material for current events, entitled, "Illustrated Current News Education Service," is now edited by Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, of Yale University. Every issue contains two photographs, 9 x 14 inches in size, printed on a manila page, 12½ x 19 inches in size, with suitable captions in large-size print. The "Teacher's Guide," which is mailed with each set of photographs, gives a statement of pertinent facts, suggested study procedure, a list of questions, and a number of suggested theme subjects. The limitation of the topics to be studied should tend to prevent the superficial attention to a wide variety of details, which is often found in current events classes. For further information, write Illustrated Current News, P. O. Drawer 1894, New Haven, Conn.

## Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROFESSOR HARRY J. CARMAN, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

*The Living Constitution.* By Howard Lee McBain. The World Today Bookshelf, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. 284 pp.

This is a book which every teacher of history should read. For those who have read a good deal in the works of the older school of political scientists, *The Living Constitution* should serve as a corrective; for those who have not, it should be instructive. I am no devotee of those ardent apostles of the "new history" to the extent that I think a first-rate historian must be an adept in psychology, in one or more of its numerous varieties, sociology, anthropology, criminology, and goodness knows how many other "gys," but I do believe it is impossible for one to teach history intelligently unless he has some considerable knowledge of government—not as a science pure and undefiled, but as politics impure and defiled. That is what this book gives us. Lest I be misunderstood, let me hasten to say that in no sense is this a muck-raking book. Far from it. On the other hand, the author does not make of government a sort of mystery or platonic "idea," which may be apprehended by ecstasy or comprehended through a process of scholastic logic.

Had Professor McBain been writing for those "smart" people, who delight in reading Mr. Mencken's "American Mercury," he might well have called his book "The Debunking of Political Science." But he is clever without being smart. That is to say, he knows the meaning of words and has a comprehension of the ideas which words singly and in combination signify. But words, however cutely combined as such, do not intrigue him. Or, to put the matter another way, he turns felicitous but not flippant phrases. To give one instance: How could a writer conclude a realistic discussion of the courts and the Constitution more happily than to say, "Under the magic of judicial interpretation the Constitution is neither an Ethiopian nor yet a leopard"?

The conclusion deserves full quotation because it is brief, illustrative, and lucid: "The Constitution of the United States was not handed down on Mount Sinai by the Lord God of Hosts. It is not revealed law. It is no final cause. It is human means. The system of government which it provides can scarcely be read at all in the stately procession of its simple clauses. Yet its broad outlines are there sketched with deft strokes. Through long unfolding years it has been tried in the crucible of men's minds and hearts. It lacks alike perfection and perfectibility. But it has been found good—exceedingly good. It is not to be worshipped. But it is certainly to be respected. Nor is it to be lightly altered, even if that were possible. The unit that it serves or should serve is not society but the individual. As we slowly move from individualism to collectivism, as move no doubt we must, hark We the People to remember that men cannot be made good by law, that nothing that is human is infallible, and that governments, whatever their form, are only as moral as those who hold the throttle of power at the moment."

I believe this brief quotation should incline the reader to agree with me that at last we have the classic commentary on our Constitution and government. But read the book in its entirety and be convinced. It isn't very long.

B. B. KENDRICK.

North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C.

*The Peacemakers of 1864.* By Edward Chase Kirkland. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1927. 279 pp.

This volume is something more than a conventional narrative of the various efforts, North and South, to end the War for Southern Independence in a peace without victory. The author has not only presented vividly the background of the peace sentiment, but he has also portrayed the participants in each episode with clarity and understanding. Though his sympathy is not with the peace-at-any-price men, he has avoided the temptation either to caricature them or to burlesque their misdirected efforts.

What a motley company of mischief-makers these peace-makers were! They ranged in influence and importance from the bewildered and vehement Greeley to the erratic Sanders and his slightly demented associate, William Cornell Jewett. One can scarcely conceive of anything more bizarre than the conference at Niagara Falls, engineered through Jewett and Sanders, between the editor of the *New York Tribune* and the self-appointed representatives of the Confederate States of America. Equally fantastic in conception was the expedition to Richmond of the ardently devout Colonel James Jacques and his prosaic friend, John R. Gilmore. Nevertheless, both adventures were of some political significance. The Niagara negotiations revealed Lincoln's determination to make the abolition of slavery as well as the restoration of the Union a *sine qua non* of peace, while the conference at Richmond resulted in Jefferson Davis' ultimatum: "We are not fighting for slavery. We are fighting for independence, and that, or extermination, we will have."

In the northern states, Lincoln's statement of war aims served to anger the conservatives, especially the War Democrats, and his connection with Greeley's peace fiasco was distasteful to those Republican extremists who desired a dictated peace. Furthermore, the opponents of the war were now convinced that the injection of the abolition issue into the conflict was the only real barrier to a settlement through negotiation. In this conviction they erred, but their efforts to terminate hostilities assumed the proportions of a treasonable conspiracy in the free states of the Borderland. At the Democratic convention of 1864 the pacifists wrote the platform, but met a decisive rebuke in the nomination of General McClellan. Before the election Sherman was at the gates of Atlanta and the defeatist movement was collapsing.

Although most observers interpreted the re-election of Lincoln as an indication that the war would run its course to a dictated peace, at least one politician was determined that hostilities should end before the complete victory of northern arms was achieved. His name was Francis P. Blair. Under the caption, "A Politician's Dream of Peace," Dr. Kirkland gives a brilliant analysis of the machinations of that ubiquitous, and sometimes adroit, triumvirate, the Blairs. The political misfortunes of the two sons furnish a partial explanation of the peace overture sponsored by the father. As a sort of prelude to the Hampton Roads conference, the confidential interview between Francis P. Blair and the President of the Confederate States of America merits attention. On January 12, 1865, Blair met Jefferson Davis in Richmond and proposed his ingenious plan to terminate hostilities. Slavery was to be abolished; the Northern offer of amnesty was to include all engaged in the war of the rebellion; and the reunion of the two sections was to be effected through an armistice, which would enable Union and Confederate armies to join in an attack upon the French in Mexico. It was this idea of restoring peace by the initiation of a war, common to North and South, which Alexander H. Stephens strongly urged on Lincoln and Seward at Hampton Roads in February. The matter was discussed at some length, but the President refused to agree to any cessation of hostilities until the Confederate leaders abandoned their hope of an independent nation. Such a renunciation seemed impossible to Jefferson Davis, and the last effort of the peacemakers was in vain.

The range and industry of Dr. Kirkland's research is evident in his elaborate footnotes, which throw interesting sidelights on the development of his main thesis. His literary style is superior to that usually encountered in monographs of sound scholarship.

JOHN A. KROUT.

Columbia University.

*Party Campaign Funds.* By James K. Pollock, Jr. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926. 289 pp.

The timeliness of this work will be appreciated by every



one. With the election scandals of the recent past still fresh in the public mind, this volume—easily the most comprehensive inquiry into the subject which has yet appeared—should serve a useful purpose. A brief chapter on the history of legislation, aiming to regulate campaign expenditures, is followed by two excellent chapters on present Federal and State legislation on the subject. A valuable appendix, containing a digest of all the present State laws regarding campaign expenditures, is included in this connection. The remainder of the book is devoted to the methods of raising and expending campaign funds, the sources of these funds, and a careful attempt to arrive at an estimate of the amount of such expenditures in recent elections.

The author has been tireless in his attempt to secure information from public records and officials. As everyone who has ever had occasion to attempt it knows, this is a most trying, and generally futile, task. The present attempt is, on the whole, no exception to this rule. But while the attempt to secure any complete or reliable figures on campaign expenditures has been largely futile, it has yielded a wealth of interesting sidelights on public officials, their hopelessly muddled records, their ignorance of the law, and the flagrant disregard of its provisions. From this point of view the book is a valuable addition to the rapidly growing literature on the inefficiency of public administration.

But while in the collection of his data the author has performed a great service, his interpretation of these data shows a curious inability to see, or reluctance to admit, rather obvious conclusions. His data constitute an impressive indictment of the political practices, of which some of the most flagrant cases have come to the public attention since this book went to press. But the author passes from his sinister accumulation of facts with most naively optimistic conclusions. While this defect permeates the entire book, the best illustrations of it are perhaps to be found in the chapter on The Sources of Campaign Funds. In this chapter the author faithfully assembles the facts, now generally known, of huge contributions by wealthy men and corresponding favors received by them after the election. Contributions by Mr. Doheny and Mr. Sinclair and many others are accurately reported, with the attending circumstances. Among other comments on these facts the author casually states that "it is easy to count the names of at least half a dozen men in the Democratic contributors' list of 1912 and 1916 who were appointed to foreign ambassadorships, while doubtless large Republican contributors have been appointed to places of importance" (p. 129). Having thus dealt quite fully and frankly with the facts, what are the author's conclusions from them? A few citations must suffice:

"We hear that rich men give to party funds in order to secure high appointments in the government. We hear that other rich men contribute to the one or the other party, because that party will put through legislation which will be of direct benefit to them. We even hear that large corporations, in spite of the prohibitions against it, evade the laws and materially assist party committees in carrying elections. Many of these complaints can be dismissed without much consideration, because they really concern practices that existed at one time but exist no longer" (p. 127).

It would be interesting to know, in view of recent exposures, which of these practices no longer exist.

Again, speaking of the charges that tariff beneficiaries are the largest contributors to the Republican party, we hear that:

"No one could convince a Republican politician that the contributions of great manufacturers who benefit by a high tariff cause Congress to pass tariff laws, for every one knows that tariff legislation is passed principally by reason of popular interest and support (sic). After it has been decided to pass tariff laws, of course, representatives of protected industries flock to Washington; but it is Congress and not the party treasurer that determines the make-up of the laws. It is not the protected manufacturer's contribution which is decisive; it is the votes of individual Congressmen and Senators" (p. 133).

The author conveniently forgets for the time being that his whole book is the most striking evidence yet compiled to show that it is the size of the campaign fund which determines what Congressmen and Senators are elected.

In further protest against the obvious conclusions to be drawn from his facts, we are told that "if one strikes from the list of contributors to each party the names of all those who might be suspected of having ulterior motives, the great bulk of the fund would still remain. It were foolish to deny that a few undesirable contributions slip into every campaign fund, but it is equally foolish to insist that the fund consists largely of questionable contributions" (p. 135). And yet, in a footnote on the second page following, the author himself points out that "the Republican National Committee in 1916 received \$369,072.32 in sums of less than \$100, while it received \$2,076,348.87 in sums of \$25,000 or more." May one assume that a person who contributes \$25,000 or more to a campaign fund expects to get something tangible for his money? If so, what becomes of the campaign fund when these contributions are eliminated?

The climax of this chauvinistic attempt to soften the implications of his facts is perhaps reached in the following amusing passage: "The Borah Committee gave publicity to certain letters sent out in Pennsylvania by Mr. Joseph R. Grundy, appealing to citizens of the state to contribute to the Republican fund 'because you have enjoyed much'....but in the light of what President Coolidge stated in his Speech of Acceptance, how can one feel that such gifts succeed in accomplishing their supposedly sinister purpose?" (p. 131). What Mr. Coolidge said on this occasion was, of course, what has been said a thousand times by politicians and candidates for office—"no individual or group of individuals may expect any governmental favors in return for party assistance"; "whatever one gives must be given for the common good or not at all"; etc. It might be recalled that Messrs. Fall and Doheny have throughout their recent difficulties solemnly maintained that their joint activities were motivated solely by patriotism and the common good. And yet the author accepts these time-honored phrases of political campaigns as of greater weight than the array of circumstantial and direct evidence to the contrary which he himself has assembled.

Having failed to grasp, or refused to face, the significance of his data, the author's remedies for the evils which may exist are correspondingly mild and conventional: "It is possible that reducing the size of contributions would help; and it is also possible that certain persons should be prohibited from contributing at all....Is it not better to have it clearly understood that all contributions are for the common good, and that no individual favors need be expected by anyone? If such a warning is given, everything that is humanly possible has been done" (p. 132).

GEO. A. LUNDBERG.

University of Pittsburgh.

*Imperialism and World Politics.* By Parker T. Moon. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926. xv, 583 pp.

This volume is an impressive one in many ways, but perhaps most impressive in its methodical arrangement of a surprisingly large amount of the information available concerning "Imperialism," chiefly since the middle of last century. Indeed, it might be said that Professor Moon has provided his readers with an excellent model for the recent historical style, which depends for its effect more upon effective marshalling of evidence than upon literary appeal. It is not easy to see how the known facts could better be surveyed and arranged. R. L. Buell's "International Relations" (Holt, 1925) is a comparable work, but achieves its effect by a sort of "case-method" for modern political science. Professor Moon arranges his material geographically. One interesting result of this arrangement is that when he comes to deal with the imperialism of the United States he is able to save space (without very great loss of emphasis) by abundant analogies to the behaviour of European states which has already been described.

The expansive energies of western or westernized nations and the methods adopted in their operation provide most tempting material for moral judgment. The apparent



inevitability of the spread of the stronger, territorially or otherwise, at the expense of the weaker, divides observers into many camps, the extremes of which are rabid assertion of the superiority of western civilization, on the one hand, and bitter denunciation of it, on the other. Professor Moon manages not to identify himself with either camp, and, to a considerable degree, is the dispassionate recorder. He is not inhuman, however, and he cannot always resist the ever-present opportunities for irony. Perhaps that is the reason why he did not embark on a formal appraisal of the compromise position which has (intermittently) been in evidence for the last twenty years—the so-called "Liberal Imperialism" of Great Britain. It is so easy to criticize the piety of a Liberal by confronting it with contemporary facts that few commentators, and, I believe, none in the United States, have really attempted to separate the wheat and the chaff in the fields where Liberal Imperialism has been attempted. In view of the imperial future of the United States and its present commitments, such a task might be very valuable in bringing to light practical principles upon which a fairly equitable imperial policy might be based.

No useful purpose is likely to be served by attempting a detailed description of this book, except to point out the economy achieved by its arrangement. It is one of the very few comprehensive treatments of its subject. It might be noticed that in the early summary of European expansion there is the curious omission of Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the seventeenth century. One other criticism which would occur to a foreigner is that Professor Moon does not appear to regard the continental expansion of the Thirteen Colonies in the same light as analogous expansion by other countries. Europeans consider the near-extinction of the American Indian and conquest of his lands by American colonists as a not very different thing from similar treatment of African natives, and they are apt to talk of the Partition of North America very much as Professor Moon does of the Partition of Africa. There is a good deal to be said for the latter view, when one remembers the strifes and adjustments among the United States, France, Spain, Great Britain, Mexico, and Canada.

BARTLET BRENNER.

Columbia University.

*Diplomatic Episodes in Mexico, Belgium, and Chile.* By Henry Lane Wilson. Doubleday, Page and Co., Garden City, New York, 1927. xvii, 399 pp.

*Latin-America—Men and Markets.* By Clayton Sedgwick Cooper. Ginn and Co., Boston, 1927. ix, 466 pp. Illus. map.

Not until our numerous American diplomats publish their memoirs will much of the "human" side of our diplomacy be known. The cold diplomatic documents contained between clumsy bindings, while indispensable, lack the interest and appeal which can be found in the lives of the actors themselves. Certainly in this era of the new-type biographies and autobiographies, "lives" should play an ever-increasing part.

The delightfully interesting story unfolded by Mr. Wilson will appeal alike to the layman and to the scholar. The work is a mixture of trite observations and plain truths, of sane advice and unwise predictions, of surprising contradictions and dogmatic assertions. It is filled with interesting sidelights upon friends and acquaintances—upon McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Bryan. On the whole, the treatment is eminently candid and fair, though there is generally an unconscious and sometimes a very conscious attempt on the part of the author at self-justification. One, however, feels that much is left untold, and the reader frequently becomes impatient, because space is sacrificed to characterizations of individuals instead of events.

Mr. Wilson spent seventeen years before 1914 in the diplomatic service. Of this period, eight years were spent as United States representative in Chile, five in Belgium, and four in Mexico. The early part of his career was occupied in familiarizing himself with diplomatic practice and the Spanish language. It was during this period that

he had many of his most amusing experiences. The latter years of his life abroad were devoted to the application of views and knowledge gained previously. About half of the book is devoted to the last four years, when one crisis followed another in Mexico. It is here that one learns rather forcibly the Mexican view of the Wilson-Bryan administration. The author asserts that their policy was one of blunderings, and he concludes that the failure of the United States to recognize Huerta's government tended to increase anarchy in Mexico and to banish hopes of internal peace. Their policy was not "sound statesmanship or good morals" (p. 300). From the moment Secretary of State Bryan assumed charge the embassy in Mexico lost prestige. One resolves, however, after reading these opinions, to give the other side the opportunity of a hearing.

While there are a few errors of historical fact and of orthography, these do not materially mar the work. And the reader, whether business man or college student, will be well repaid by spending a quiet evening at home searching the depths and following the subtleties of American diplomacy in the early twentieth century.

Mr. Cooper's work is of a far different character. Written "in order to promote a clearer understanding of the main characteristics of Latin-American business men and a better knowledge of the trade relationships existing between the United States and Latin-America" (p. v), the author has made little attempt to interpret or analyze. Indeed, his chief object has been to present briefly the "fundamental facts relative to trade and business conditions" in each of the Latin-American states, so that the business man, the student, and the general reader in the United States may gain "some comprehensive knowledge of Latin-America as a whole." The author believes that our lack of interest in, and knowledge of, Latin-America has effected our trade and economic relationships; hence, when this fault is corrected, closer commercial relations will follow. Consequently, he has stressed the necessity of a "sympathetic point of view on the part of the reader."

The author well understands the Latin-American temperament, and has brought together some sound and timely advice in his opening chapter on "Understanding Latin-America." In his second chapter a much too brief, flippant, and, therefore, unsatisfactory summary (ten pages), of 400 years of "Historical Background" is given to the reader. Chapters three to seventeen, inclusive, deal in an encyclopedic fashion with the social and economic conditions of the separate countries or groups of countries. In this connection, the reviewer believes that one could read with as much profit any Encyclopedia or Year Book summary. The final chapter is entitled "Trade Problems" (pp. 430-446), and consists of "questions for class use," together with some discussion. This part has the appearance of having been added as an after thought, so that the volume might be in more demand as a textbook.

A bibliography (pp. 447-453) lists only a few "general" and "special" references. One wishes that all of these had been used in the writing of the book, but it seems doubtful whether even half of them were examined. Instead, titles not listed seem to have been consulted, for Eugene O'Neill is quoted on Columbus (p. 27) and Emerson Hough on the Spanish pioneers (p. 28). The index (pp. 455-466) is quite satisfactory, and is helped by a key to the pronunciation of Spanish, Portuguese, and French words. The illustrations in the volume are enlightening to

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the average reader, but are by no means original. In short, the work is not good history; it may be good journalism.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

*The Struggle for the Falkland Islands: A Study in Legal and Diplomatic History.* By Julius Goebel, Jr., LL.B., Ph.D. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927. xiii, 482 pp. \$5.00.

This erudite and finished monograph is devoted to a study of the conflict over the possession of the small group of islands just east of the southern tip of South America. It is an extensive account, covering the whole period from discovery of the islands in the sixteenth century to the final confirmation of British control in the first half of the nineteenth. The book not only deals in great detail with the diplomatic history involved, but also presents in competent and lucid fashion the divers principles of international, which were brought into play in the process. It has been written on the basis of a most complete examination of not only all the printed source-material, but also a large mass of manuscript-material. It is a model of method in this field of historical and juristic research, and if ever the designation of "exhaustive" was merited by an historical monograph, this work is entitled to such a description. The reviewer does not recall having seen any other study which surpasses the book in this regard. It is an achievement of which Professor Goebel may well be proud, and it is also a tribute to his worthy master, John Bassett Moore.

The only critical point which would be raised by the reviewer relates to the larger moral aspects of the enterprise. One may justly question whether so much effort and such competent scholarship should be devoted to so relatively unimportant a subject until after the more relevant and significant problems in diplomatic history have been exhausted. It is difficult to escape from a feeling of keen regret when one contemplates what would have resulted from turning Professor Goebel loose for a similar period upon the Morocco crises, the Straits, Persia since 1900, the Anglo-German negotiations from 1898 to 1904, the diplomacy of Edward VII, or other equally epoch-making phases of diplomatic history. One valid defense of Professor Goebel's work would, however, be that the value of a book is to be measured not only by its subject-matter, but also by its contribution to the methodology of scholarship. On this latter ground the author is absolutely secure.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Smith College.

*Parliament and War.* By Francis R. Flournoy. P. S. King and Son, London, 1927. 282 pp.

In the midst of heated discussion concerning the exact apportionment of guilt for bringing on the World War, there appears Dr. Flournoy's timely and interesting little volume on the part played by the British Parliament in the making or prevention of war.

The Professor considers, with a chapter on each, the major wars which England has fought since the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, for, by the way in which this act was passed, "the sovereignty of the people was established in fact if not in law. Moreover, since 1832 there has been an increasing demand to give the people's representatives a more important place in the conduct of foreign relations. Within this scope there fall the two Afghan wars, the two wars with China, the Crimean War, the Persian and Abyssinian wars, the Occupation of Egypt, the Boer War, and the Great War. And it seems that Parliament had but little more control over the entry of England into the last than into the first of these engagements.

In the case of the First Afghan War, 1838-1842, "not only was Parliament practically unable to exercise any influence upon the Government in initiating the war, but it was not adequately and promptly informed regarding the circumstances by which the war was brought about." While in the case of the Opium War, Parliament's activities were concerned every bit as much with complaints of the Government's negligence in protecting British interests

abroad as with righteous indignation over the forcing of the odious traffic upon a weaker nation. The Crimean War, however, brought forth a much more insistent demand for information. But this time it was Palmerston's popularity and the rising spirit of jingoism throughout the country which enabled Lord Granville to tell Parliament definitely that it was a matter "entirely for the Government to decide when it was proper to make a declaration of war." Disraeli, leader of the opposition, agreed that "the power of declaring war is the prerogative of the Crown."

Although the Chinese War of 1856 was begun without any form of Parliamentary sanction, the injustice was so glaring and the pretenses were so flimsy, that a vote of censure was passed against the Government by the Commons, and both here and during the course of the Persian War of 1856-1857 Gladstone definitely stated that, in view of its control over the expenditure of public funds, the Lower House ought of right to be asked its opinion concerning the importance and justice of any impending struggle. But Palmerston insisted that calling special sessions of Parliament to discuss the advisability of going to war with so "remote" a power as Persia "would be only a burlesque on our constitutional forms." Opposition to the Abyssinian War was confined to arguments that the spirit of the constitution had been violated, because Parliament's consent had not been obtained before the opening of hostilities, while during the Second Afghan War Parliament was assembled only to discontinue any suggestion that the Cabinet was trying to govern without Parliament. In 1882, Parliament exercised somewhat more influence, the jingo and bondholding members doing their best to help the hesitant Gladstone make up his mind to occupy Egypt.

The troubles with the Boers are discussed very ably by Professor Flournoy, who points out that in this case there was a good deal of Parliamentary questioning, resulting finally in the appointment of a special committee to investigate the Jameson Raid. As a matter of fact, the committee's investigations were not very successful, but a decided step in advance had been made by the recognition of Parliament's interest and concern in the matter at issue. It is quite likely that the Commons might have shown more opposition, but once again jingoism appeared, like Barquo's ghost, to taunt the unpatriotic heckler of a government engaged in fighting for the safety of the State! Finally, the consideration on the eve of the outbreak of the Great War brings out very clearly that, because of the incredible swiftness with which events moved, Parliament could indulge in but very little debating. Moreover, the Conservative Opposition as such was not an anti-war party, and whatever qualms there might have been were brushed aside by the German invasion of Belgium.

On the whole, Professor Flournoy's study seems to indicate that Parliament still has very little control over the negotiations and incidents that precede the outbreak of hostilities between England and other countries. Unfortunately, the book does not deal with various crises that were settled by means other than war, although it would be extremely interesting to see just what part was played by Parliament in these instances.

The work is well written, fully and ably documented, remarkably free from errors, both typographical and otherwise, and contains a convenient alphabetical bibliography. It is a distinct contribution to the study of the war-making power, "the most formidable weapon possessed by the modern State."

WALTER C. LANGSAM.

Columbia University.

*International Civics, The Community of Nations.* By Pitman B. Potter and Roscoe L. West. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1927. xiv, 307 pp.

This new text does not seek to displace local civics, but to enable the study of a much-neglected field, world civics. As the Introduction states, "the day has long since passed when man, family, or nation can live alone...A man of the twentieth century is, indeed, a world citizen." This is the first book of the kind putting the material in a form accurate yet usable for high school students. In fact, the book

could be used with profit by normal schools, junior colleges, and general study clubs. The American citizen today presents a lamentable instance of one who knows little about world politics; and, what is worse, cares little about it. The book used in an intensive supplementary capacity in courses in civics, American history, world history, and American problems will go a long way towards remedying this situation.

The book seeks to answer such practical questions as these: What is a nation? What is modern cosmopolitanism and its relation to nationalism? What is the relation of industrial questions to international problems? What is international law and all its related phases? What have been the various methods evolved the past one hundred years in the settlement of international disputes? What are the various types of international organizations?

The three chapters on the League of Nations and related organizations are especially good. The twelfth chapter of the book on origins of the League is especially illuminating. There are several points which the authors should have made clearer, particularly the distinction between the Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Permanent Court of International Justice (World Court). The discussion is rather involved, but possibly this is due to the irregular and unnecessarily complex structure of the League and allied organizations. It should have been mentioned that it requires unanimous vote, with some exceptions, to pass measures in Council and Assembly of the League. The two statements on pages 223 and 247 as to the relation of the World Court to the other peace organizations are somewhat contradictory. The fact that the authors discriminate between origins, organization, and activities does not clear up the wrong impression.

References at the end of each chapter are not intended to be exhaustive, yet the bibliography for chapter fourteen on the League's activities might well have included the Yearbooks of World Peace Foundation and Fraser's *Foreign Trade and World Politics*. Since the text is meant to develop the study of world affairs and the cause of world peace, the Locarno Agreements of 1925 might have been mentioned, at least, briefly, as they were inspired by

the League of Nations, and they bear some relation to its organs in the enforcement of their terms. While the statement on page 245, that the "Assembly is gaining more and more power," is probably true, it is difficult to reconcile it to the statement on page 249 "that an expression of opinion is about all that can be hoped from this body (Assembly)." Chapter fourteen, though a fine analysis, should, in the opinion of the reviewer, include reference to concrete examples of questions in dispute settled by the League, such as the Aaland Islands, Polish-Lithuanian boundary, economic rehabilitation of Austria, Corfu crisis, health services, refugee problems, etc. It would be well, also, to explain just how, indirectly, the United States is co-operating with the League, even though not a member. The heading of Appendix I is misleading; a footnote might have explained that the Senate's action nullified the action of our delegates at Versailles.

Chapter fifteen is a vigorous analysis of the responsibility of the American citizen in international affairs. There should have been a paragraph citing concrete instances of the fact that "the United States has done more than any other nation in history to promote the achievement of international peace and order." (See World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, Vol. IX, Nos. 6-7 [1926]; and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law Pamphlet, No. 1, 1914.) Some readers might well take exception to such statements as: "We have seldom taken territory by conquest"; "such territories as we have acquired we have given a full standing as States or self-governing Territories in the Union, instead of keeping them in a condition of perpetual dependency"; "the United States has never refrained from acting in international affairs whenever national interests demanded action." The interpretation of our Caribbean policy is somewhat one-sided; the other possible interpretation should be noted. The definition of neutrality, page 92, is misleading; it should read: "The non-participation of a nation in a war, when two other nations are at war one with another." The statement on page 150 as to world federation is perhaps more hopeful than the facts warrant. The legend for the picture, page 163, is inverted.

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Each chapter is headed with questions that motivate the work. The teaching helps at the end of each chapter are valuable; namely, definitions of terms, study helps, questions for discussion, projects for investigation, and selected references. While many of the books cited may not be available in most high schools, their inclusion will enable the book to be used more intensively in higher institutions. The illustrations are pertinent and the charts or graphs constitute a valuable feature. There are three appendixes: Draft of Covenant of League of Nations, Permanent Court of International Justice Statute, and Constitution of International Labor Organization. The Index seems to be a workable one. The style of the book is interesting, and should appeal to the thoughtful lay reader, as well as to the student. The book is printed in large, clear type, and is attractively bound.

Despite the criticisms cited above the authors have performed a signal service effectively. The book should be widely adopted, either as a text or as a supplementary work in the high school, and it should find extensive use as the basic text for courses in normal schools and junior colleges.

H. R. TUCKER.

Department of Social Science, Cleveland High School, St. Louis, Mo.

## Book Notes

Those who have read the characterization of Thomas Jefferson by Henry Adams will do well to consult Louis Martin Sears' *Jefferson and the Embargo* (Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1927. ix, 340 pp.). Professor Sears proves by recourse to documentary material that in urging an embargo, Jefferson was not pursuing an opportunistic policy, but was merely following the logic of his own philosophy. Were Jefferson alive today he would rate as a pacifist in so far as war is concerned. The author also shows pretty conclusively that Jefferson as an administrator was more than a maudling philosophical theorist, as his enemies have been wont to paint him. Indeed, no one can read this volume without coming to the conclusion that Jefferson, during his presidency, showed administrative abilities of a high order. The volume also throws new light on the effects of the embargo on both the United States and European countries. The student of economic history, as well as those interested in the political aspects of the embargo question, will find much worth-while material. Professor Sears has made a valuable contribution and his volume will help clarify a somewhat misrepresented and illy understood phase of our history.

The volume prepared by Dr. A. C. Flick, State Historian of New York, entitled, *The American Revolution in New York—Its Political, Social, and Economic Significance* (The University of the State of New York, Albany, 1926. 371 pp.), for general use as part of the program of the Executive Committee on the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Revolution, is both a scholarly and exceedingly interesting document. It deserves wide reading. As Dr. Flick well says in his prefatory remarks, the rôle of the State of New York in the Revolution has been ignored, misrepresented, and misunderstood. Indeed, historians have seen fit to dwell on the military aspects and have sadly neglected the equally, if not more important social, economic, religious, and educational activities. This monograph, while it by no means professes to be exhaustive, has at least opened up to the student a new vista. Chapter ten, "Results of the Revolution in New York," blazes a trail which should be widened by scholars of the future. Too much credit cannot be given to Dr. Flick for bringing out this important contribution.

In *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300*, by W. A. Morris (Manchester University Press. Longmans, Green, New York, 1927. xviii, 291 pp., \$8.00), Professor W. A. Morris, of the University of California, brings together the fruits of some twenty years of research. The appearance of some chapters of his book as articles in *The English His-*

*torical Review* had already made him the living authority on his subject, and now the completed work will automatically take its place on the shelf of standard authorities in English constitutional history. Once again an American student has overcome the handicaps of geography to make a permanent contribution to the long story of Anglo-American government.

In such a case a review can be little more than congratulation. The volume is one for specialists and has already excited much approval and an appropriate amount of technical argument. There are few historians qualified to take issue with it, and, on the whole, it does not startle or surprise. It is straightforward, considerate of the work of others, and solidly buttressed by authority. Now others can cite Professor Morris for authority when they come to deal with the chief executive officer of the early Norman kings, and they can make more vivid their demonstration of how the former Saxon kingdoms were welded together under a firm and conscious central authority. It is to be hoped that the textbook writers will read, mark, and inwardly digest, so that the product of this long research will speedily find its way into the general constitutional histories.—BARTLET BREBNER.

In a very scholarly volume, Georgiana Putnam McEntee has made a careful, first-hand study of *The Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, 312 pp.), beginning with that pioneer of English Social Catholicism, Cardinal Manning, and coming down to date. The resemblance in appearance and make-up to Professor P. T. Moon's earlier work on the same movement in France leads one to hope for the continuance of the series. The indebtedness of the English movement in methods and organization to German and French example and to the Fabian Society is very obvious. And yet English Catholicism was permeated with the same social spirit which manifested itself in most Catholic communities in the late nineteenth century and which expressed itself in such leaders as Leo XIII, Ketteler, de Mun, Manning, and Gibbons. The part which Social Catholicism has played in ameliorating social evils is by no means slight in countries where Catholics are numerous, but the English movement can do little more than increase the number of Englishmen who are working for a better social order. The most interesting chapters are those which describe the labors of Cardinal Manning and the attempts of the Catholic Social Guild to infuse Catholic workingmen with a social point of view which should harmonize with their faith. Unfortunately, no separate bibliography has been included, apart from that given in the footnotes.—J. G. G.

One of the most thought-provoking volumes which has appeared during the past year is John W. Burgess's *The Sanctity of Law, Wherein Does It Consist* (Ginn and Company, New York, 1927. vii, 335 pp.), in which the author seeks to demonstrate how "men have sought and struggled to find the sovereign organ or organs out of which have proceeded the rules of conduct having the force of law." Civilization, he contends, is today passing from the theological to the scientific era. Up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries law had about it the aroma of divinity, and between the Roman Catholic Church and the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire a long-drawn-out struggle was waged as to which was the God-chosen organ for the revelation of all truth to man. With the development of the national state, Dr. Burgess points out, the source of law came to be regarded as the national consciousness of truth and right, produced by the conjunction of the geographic and economic unities with the ethical and political. The national consciousness, however, is not perfect as yet, and, looking to the future, the author believes that the League of Nations, while working for world unity, may be utilized to perfect the historical evolution of real national consciousness of truth, right, and law. Every one interested in the future of jurisprudence and who is anxious to judge the legal aspect of present-day issues will profit from reading this volume.

## Notes on Periodical Literature

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

Among the articles of interest to historians to be found in the January *Atlantic* are John Hearley's "The Catholic Church and the Modern Mind" and Edmund A. Walsh's "The Fall of the Russian Empire," both serials, and Captain B. H. Liddell Hart's "Erich von Falkenhayn," Colonel Wilds P. Richardson's "Alaska, Its Cost and Its Promise" and J. Gannon's "Ireland's Religious Question."

"Situated where she is, between a chaotic Russia and a Germany whose Nationalists...are still carrying on a Press propaganda against the treaties in regard to her eastern borders, Poland is an international necessity, if the liberties of Europe are to continue. And the world should know that in addition to its necessary defense of "The Corridor" ...the Poles are at every hour of the day and the night protecting, on their long eastern frontier, Europe from further Bolshevik danger and penetration" (Professor W. Caldwell, "The Case of Poland Today," *Fortnightly Review* for December).

Mlle. Marthe Pugny's admirable translation of Alfred Meynard's "The Stones, Waters, and Gestures of Angkor" (January *Asia*) is accompanied by most interesting illustrations of the old towers and temples which exemplify the author's statement that "India has hidden the immensity of its ideas and masked its sublime truths under forms of terror. The Khmer art has created unchanging divinity in its gods and expressed through their smile the whole power of the cosmos."

A new field of historical interest is suggested by William Atherton DuPuy's "The Geography of Money," appearing in the December *National Geographic*. Not only the variations in mediums of exchange due to variations in locality are discussed, but also the history of the development of coinage.

"We Southerners are almost in a good humor again," says Grover C. Hall, in the January *Scribner's*. "It is now sixty-two years since all was lost to us save pride and ambition, and even the crows went hungry. It is fifty years since Hayes ended the period of occupation, and thereby reconciled the Democrats to the loss of the mighty Tilden. It is fifty-nine years since Thad Stevens went away somewhere, and thirty-four years since 'Beast' Butler went down to comfort him. It is twenty-nine years since little Joe Wheeler surated manfully under the weight of his blue uniform in tropic Cuba. It is nine years since Robert Lee Bullard and Alvin York looked eastward to Berlin, and five years since 2300 S Street, Washington, was the foremost private residence on earth. And today Gen. Chas. P. Summerall, of Florida, is Chief of Staff of the United States Army, and Admiral H. A. Wiley, of Texas, Commander of the United States fleet. Why shouldn't we be in a good humor? We shall become a gay people in public even as we are now in private."

"During the last two weeks of July, 1927, there met in the island city of Honolulu an international conference, which is perhaps without a parallel...convoked by no external authority, representing nobody but itself, passing no votes nor resolutions, it nevertheless drew into the heart of the Pacific from points as far apart as London, Sydney, Tokyo, Shanghai, San Francisco, and New York a gathering of men and women representative of the best expert knowledge in their respective countries concerning the problems of the Pacific," writes Professor James T. Shotwell, in the January *Century*. After discussing the underlying causes of all the outstanding problems of the Pacific, he concludes: "The strategy of peace must be worked out with even more detail than the strategy of war. The problems likely to bring about international disputes must be analyzed at their sources, with an eye to their ultimate elimination, rather than their temporary cure; and for this gigantic task we have as yet no adequate implements."

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LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, Ph.D.

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- Abel, Annie H. and Klingberg, F. J., editors. A side-light on Anglo-American relations, 1839-1858. Washington, D. C.: Association for study of Negro life and History. 414 pp. \$2.15.
- Adams, James T. Provincial society, 1690-1763. N. Y.: Macmillan. 391 pp. (32 p. bibl.). \$3.50.
- Bell, Landon C. The old free state: history of Lunenburg county, Virginia. Columbus, O.: [Author, 115 E. Rich Street.] 2 Vols. \$10.00.
- Brownell, William C. Democratic distinction in America. N. Y.: Scribner. 270 pp. \$2.50.
- Case, James R., compiler. An account of Tryon's raid on Danbury in April, 1777 [etc.]. Danbury, Conn.: Danbury Pr. Co. 56 pp. Apply to publisher.
- Crompton, George. The tariff; an interpretation of a bewildering problem. N. Y.: Macmillan. 235 pp. \$2.50.
- Davis, Albert H. History of Ellsworth, Maine. Lewiston, Me.: Lewiston Journal. 244 pp. Apply to publisher.
- Fish, Carl R. The rise of the common man, 1830-1850. N. Y.: Macmillan. 410 pp. (28 p. bibl.). \$3.50.
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- Garland, Hamlin. The westward march of American settlement. Chicago: American Library Association. 35 pp. 35c.
- Gray, John C. and Ropes, John C. War letters, 1862-1865, of John C. Gray and John C. Ropes [civil war correspondence]. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. 532 pp. \$7.50.
- Hitchcock, Major Henry. Marching with Sherman [extracts from letters and diaries, Nov., 1864-May, 1865]. N. Y.: University Press Association, 522 Fifth Avenue. \$4.00.
- Howe, John and Jingle, Bob. A journal kept by a British spy, 1775, and the association of the delegates, 1774. Tarrytown, N. Y.: 58 pp. \$5.00.
- Latané, Edith and Latané, J. H. American history for young Americans. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 591 pp. \$1.80.
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- Pease, Theodore C. The United States [history]. N. Y.: Harcourt. 756 pp. \$3.75.
- Radin, Paul. The story of the American Indian. N. Y.: Liveright. 385 pp. \$5.00.
- Robinson, Jacob S. A journal of the Santa Fe Expedition [1846]. Tarrytown, N. Y.: William Abbott. 58 pp. \$5.00.
- Rowland, Dunbar and Sanders, A. G., editors and translators. Mississippi provincial archives, 1729-1740; French dominion. Vol. 1. Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi Department of Archives and history. 488 pp. \$5.00.
- Smith, Charles W., and others. An appeal to the people of Illinois on the question of a convention, 1823. Tarrytown, N. Y.: William Abbott. 40 pp. \$5.50.
- Wertebaker, Thomas J. The first Americans, 1607-1690. N. Y.: Macmillan. 378 pp. (22 p. bibl.). \$3.50.
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- Musil, Alois. Arabia deserta (Oriental explorations and studies). N. Y.: American Geographical Society. 631 pp. \$8.00.
- Randall-MacIver, David. The Etruscans. N. Y.: Oxford University Press. 156 pp. \$2.00.
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- Seltman, C. T. The Cambridge Ancient history. V. of plates, I. N. Y.: Macmillan. 422 pp. \$7.00.
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### THE WORLD WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

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## BIOGRAPHY

Poliakoff, V. The tragic bride; the story of Empress Alexandra of Russia. N. Y.: D. Appleton & Co. \$3.00 net.

Murray, David L. Disraeli. Boston: Little, Brown. 298 pp. \$4.00.

Fauset, Arthur H. For Freedom [A biographical history of the American negro for children]. Philadelphia: Franklin Publishing & Supply Co. 200 pp. \$1.50.

Griggs, Edward H. American Statesmen. Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.: Orchard Hill Press. 364 pp. (8 p. bibl.). \$3.50.

Hone, Philip. The diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851. 2 Vols. [Author one-time mayor of New York.] N. Y.: Dodd, Mead. 994 pp. \$10.00 set.

Hortense, Queen of Holland. The memoirs of Queen Hortense. 2 Vols. N. Y.: Cosmopolitan Book Co. 374, 398 pp. \$10.00 set.

Hart, Franklin W. Abraham Lincoln, the great commoner. Huntington Park, Calif.: Author, 359 S. Rita Avenue. 274 pp. \$2.00.

Napier, H. D. Field Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala; a memoir. N. Y.: Longmans. 359 pp. \$8.50.

Scott, Sir George. Marco Polo. N. Y.: Macmillan. 94 pp. \$1.00.

Fisher, Herbert A. L. Paul Vinogradoff; a memoir. N. Y.: Oxford University Press. 74 pp. \$1.75.

Fitzpatrick, John C., editor. George Washington, colonial traveler, 1732-1775. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 430 pp. \$5.00.

Hart, Albert B. George Washington. Chicago: American Library Association. 37 pp. 35c.

Osborn, Lucretia T. P. Washington speaks for himself. N. Y.: Scribner. 345 pp. (4 p. bibl.). \$3.50.

Prussing, Eugene E. The estate of George Washington, deceased. Boston: Little, Brown. 524 pp. \$6.00.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Bakmeteff, Boris. The Legacy of War: Peace. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. \$2.00.

Wasson, Richard. The Constitution of the United States; its history and meaning. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 135 pp. (2 p. bibl.). 80c.

Willoughby, William F. Principles of public administration; with special reference to the national and state governments of the United States. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 742 pp. (63 p. bibl.). \$5.00.

## Historical Articles in Current Periodicals

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History and the Indigenous Church. Kenneth S. Latourette (*International Review of Missions*, January).

A Ptolemaic Holiday. Flinders Petrie (*Ancient Egypt*, September).

Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire. George La Piana (*Harvard Theological Review*, October).

Original Manuscripts of the Medici. (*Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, November.)

Napoleon II: the King Who Was Forgotten. J. C. M. Edwards (*National Review*, December).

Isolation and Contact as Factors in the Cultural Evolution of China, Korea, and Japan prior to 1842 (concluded). Ch'iang Liu (*Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, October).

American-Catholic Missions in China (continued). L. Carrington Goodrich (*Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, October).

Interpreting China to the West. Kenneth S. Latourette (*Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, October). "From the English-Speaking Point of View."

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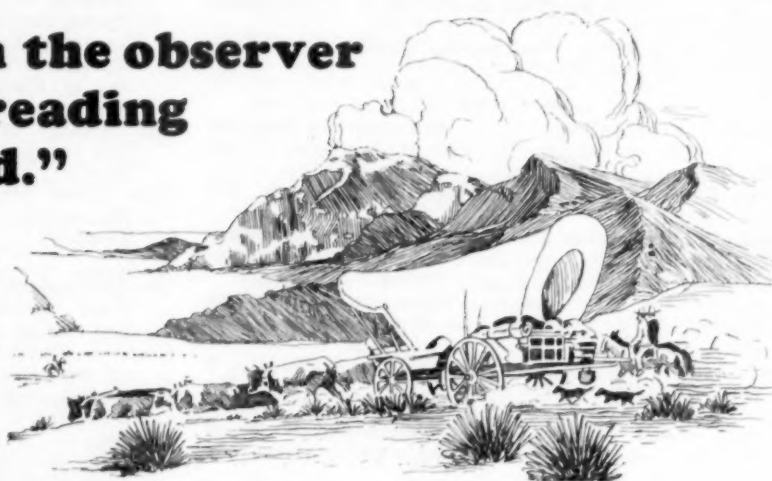
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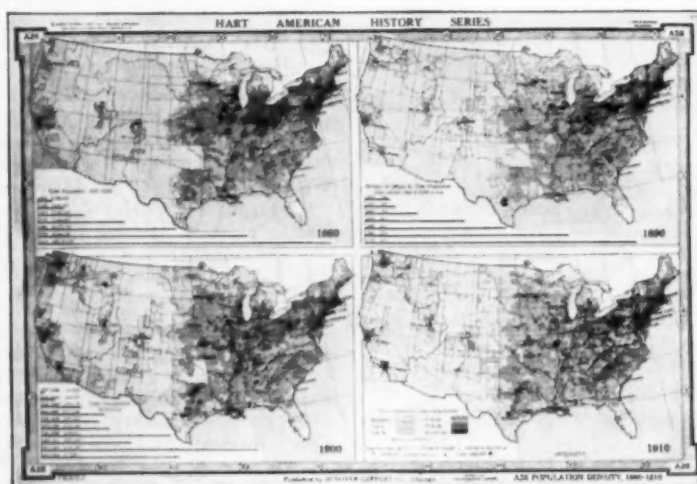
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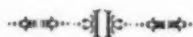
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